



Language and social status differences in two urban schools

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Publication date:
2018

Document version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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Citation for published version (APA):
Nørreby, T. R. (2018). *Language and social status differences in two urban schools*. Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Københavns Universitet.

Language and social status differences in two urban schools

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PhD Dissertation

(November 2017)

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1. Introduction

This dissertation is about language and social difference in two school environments in contemporary Copenhagen. Over the past couple of decades, these environments, in line with society in general, have become increasingly diverse (according to www.dst.dk and www.kk.dk) consisting today of pupils (and teachers) with a wide range of ethno-cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Furthermore, when looking at the current conditions of the Western European societies such as the free movement of workers in the EU and also the ongoing migration floods caused by political crises and wars in Africa and in the Middle East, there is nothing to suggest that this development will end any time soon. In other words: Demographic diversity has become a basic societal condition. Parallel to this development though, we have not seen the same amount of changes in the approaches to schooling from the official administration or in the curriculum. The official structures of the Danish school still to a high degree benefit children who have Danish ethno-cultural and linguistic family backgrounds by being anchored in an overshadowing ideology of monolingualism that sees standard Danish as the one and only means for achieving educational and societal success (Holmen & Jørgensen 2010, Karrebæk 2013, Møller 2015). A consequence of this (narrow) institutional view of which kinds of language that count as valuable in the Danish society is that the prevalent diversity (or at least certain *types* of it) that characterizes especially the urban public schools is being viewed and treated as a problem i.e. a challenge to overcome. Several studies have dealt with these issues in attempts to investigate and explain partly the effects of the macro level circumstances on micro level everyday practices and experiences but also how micro level practices create and reaffirm these hegemonic structures (see. e.g. Yilmaz 1999, Rennison 2009, Madsen 2015, Madsen et. al. 2016). Together, such studies illustrate how the institutional reality of the Danish society is firmly embedded within an overarching discursive notion that uniformity and stability constitute the unmarked and “normal” societal state. As a consequence, little room is left for diversity within educational activities, and (most) practices associated with multiculturalism or multilingualism are projected as obstacles towards achieving educational and societal success. If we, in an institutional perspective, compare the demographic development with the dominating ideology of standard Danish as the only linguistic resource of (institutional) value, we discover an interesting sociolinguistic discrepancy. For it is indeed very hard to reconcile the discursive notion of linguistic uniformity with the actual demographic composition of today’s Danish schools. In these heterogeneous environments, the linguistic practices and possibilities

contrast with the ideological notion of stability and homogeneity constituting the unmarked and normal state of affairs, and it is this important, and to a large extent problematic, sociolinguistic situation that lies at the heart of this study in which I set out to answer the following research question:

How do the pupils in two seemingly different contemporary school classes bring into play aspects of diversity and difference in their linguistic everyday life and how do these communicative practices relate to ideological notions of social status differences and stratification processes in the wider society?

From an epistemological anchoring in interactional sociolinguistics, I investigate which linguistic and other semiotic resources the pupils employ when they construct and ascribe to each other different identities and social stereotypes. I illuminate the processes through which particular linguistic resources as well as distinct ways of speaking are ascribed particular symbolic value in the two environments and analyze how this provides some pupils with distinct social rights and possibilities – and potentially also limitations. I then link these observations to (what I find to be) relevant discursive and socio-historical contexts to provide the reader with an important insight into the interplay between the structural reality of Danish schooling and the everyday linguistic and social practices that unfold among pupils and teachers. This should enable me to analyze and discuss how these linguistic and social processes create and link up with local ideological conceptions of similarity and difference, equality and inequality and how this relates to more wide-ranging sociolinguistic hierarchies and social status differences in the contemporary Danish society. It is my hope that such an insight can help cast new light onto the ongoing essential discussion about the future of Danish schooling, and in what follows I elaborate on how I imagine my dissertation will be able to do so.

1.1 A general research interest

Within the broad field of interactional sociolinguistics, studies on multilingual school environments constitute a large part of the common research endeavor. Having as a main research interest the subject of multilingualism and linguistic variation and development, it is not hard to see why such an environment forms an obvious empirical goldmine. Apart from the empirical potential constituted by mainly the pupils, schools are furthermore interesting to study for language researchers given how they

are structurally based in official curricular that (are supposed to) guide all official activities, while at the same time representing a context where children come together and engage in all kinds of unofficial activities in for instance the school breaks. And as we have learned, the linguistic and social activities that go on *in* the classroom are (usually) not similar to the ones that go on *outside* the classroom even when carried out by the same individuals. There is a tendency though within the corpus of sociolinguistic studies concerning school children of different ages to look at the same “type” of environments, namely public schools with (lower) middle class profiles (see e.g. Rampton 2006, Harris 2006, Blackledge & Creese 2010, Chun 2011, Jaspers 2011, Madsen et. al. 2016). Furthermore, the studies in general tend to focus on individuals whose linguistic backgrounds are different from the majority ones i.e. individuals who have national backgrounds outside the nation in which they live and attend school. Although such studies should be considered essential given their ability to give voice to individuals who for different reasons have trouble being heard, and although one should of course recognize that a lower middle class elementary school in Copenhagen does not straightforwardly compare to a similar school in Belgium or in the USA, which thereby makes cross-national comparison important, the tendency has some (unfortunate) consequences. First, when studies focus primarily on aspects of ethno-cultural differences and multilingualism among minorities, they risk reaffirming a minority/majority dichotomy and what we might call the “white imperative” tendency by implying that ethnicity and multilingual voices only carry relevance to individuals with minority backgrounds. Second, (and most importantly in relation to this study) it has left the topic of multilingualism in globalized elite environments virtually unexplored. There is no obvious explanation as to why such environments have not received much (if any) attention within interactional sociolinguistics. International private schools with prestigious reputations for instance are no less linguistically and culturally diverse than other urban schools due to their international status and pupil population and the language of instruction different from the national majority language. And actually their status as private institutions, which allows them to avoid being subject to the same kind of political thrust as the public schools, makes up for an interesting comparative perspective given how we then might expect to find a sociolinguistic ordering different from that of the urban public schools. At the same time, the socio-economic profiles of privilege of such schools present us with an opportunity for investigating potential links between linguistic repertoires, social hierarchies and prestige from new perspectives. By studying such environments, we can learn about how the practices of socio-economically privileged

school children map on to sociolinguistic economies of wider currency. These are all reasons why such environments carry great empirical potential for broadening the lens through which contemporary sociolinguistic developments among children and youth are investigated, and in this dissertation I intend to exploit this potential and to bridge the general empirical gap within interactional sociolinguistics by involving as one of two ethnographic bases an international private elite school in Copenhagen. The other base then is a “common” urban public school (also located in Copenhagen) and this is a school at which I have conducted field work before (see e.g. Nørreby 2012, Nørreby & Møller 2015, Nørreby 2016). The pupil groups in focus at these two schools respectively are of the same age (10-12 year-olds) and they are both characterized by ethno-cultural and linguistic diversity consisting of children with various national backgrounds (see concrete statistics on pages 24 and 27 as well as in article 2). With an overall focus on how social difference and distinctions are acted out and talked into being, I show how the pupils use language to handle and organize their social worlds and how such organizing involves discursive constructions and ascriptions of various identities and stereotypes. I illustrate how they through such actions draw on and re-shape cultural formations (Agha 2007) of indexical links (Ochs 1992, Silverstein 2003) between ways of speaking and behaving based on local ideological understandings and perceptions about similarity/difference and social status relations. Finally, I show how these practices link up with ongoing processes of social stratification in the Danish society. Before elaborating more on these two empirical ground stones, I outline below the epistemological foundations of my study.

2. Interactional sociolinguistics

A key interest of interactional sociolinguistics is (and has always been) the inherent linguistic and cultural diversity of communicative encounters, and within this research paradigm such encounters are construed as everyday-world sites where societal and interactive forces merge and “where history, economic forces and interactive processes [...] combine to create or to eliminate social distinctions” (Gumperz 1982: 29). This field of research is inherently interdisciplinary and it generally deals with issues of wide-spread concern that also form key interests in other branches of social science such as race discriminations, class stratification and gender relations. The approach is what separates the research agenda from others as it addresses these issues through “micro-analyzing recorded interactions in ways that avoid the over-generalization and essentialism to which other research methods

(interviews, surveys) are often vulnerable” (Rampton 2017: 5). In other words, the participant perspective is put to the fore and the main analytical task is considered the tracing of the individual everyday social *experience* of being involved in for instance processes of discrimination, stratification or marginalization and how such experiences are *shaped by* and at the same time *shape* society. This dialectic approach to communicative encounters as being shaped by and shaping societal relations draws parallels to late modern sociological perspectives on individuals and society as presented by Giddens (e.g. 1976, 1991) and Bourdieu (e.g. 1974, 1986) who also base their insights on a perception that practice is both the production *and* reproduction of society (Giddens 1976: 160) and that power and inequality is culturally and symbolically created and constantly re-legitimized through an interplay of agency and structure. This furthermore underlines how interactional sociolinguistics constitutes an interdisciplinary resource for engaging “with the facts of modern life” and “yield[ing distinctive] insights into the workings of social process (Gumperz 1982: 4, 7, cited in Rampton 2017: 5). I consider this study an interactional sociolinguistic study which means that I base my insights on close discourse analysis of audio- and video-recorded interaction and perceive such an approach central in my attempt to uncover the meaning-making processes that I am interested in *and* because I understand these conventions for signaling and interpreting meaning in talk as culturally variable.

Having an analytical focus on face-to-face interaction obviously requires a thorough theoretical and methodological understanding of how language works as a social tool for the conveying and uptake of meaning and also of the processes through which language and linguistic styles in everyday communication through repeated use come to be associated with particular people, places and purposes (Agha 2007, Coupland 2007). In what follows, I explain in detail the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of interactional sociolinguistics which constitute essential tool kits to this particular study and by doing so I furthermore form an overall epistemological argument of how language use is a prime heuristic for tracing the experience and construction of social identities, cultural interpretations, social differentiation and alignments.

2.1 The contemporary research field

In its approach to language, this study relates to two significant developments within recent sociolinguistics (see also Madsen et. al. 2016). The first development is the theoretical deconstruction

of the concept of “a language” (Heller 2007, Makoni & Pennycook 2008, Jørgensen 2010) which involves an understanding of “languages” as socio-historical and socio-cultural inventions linked to the ideological project of the nation state. As we have come to learn, there exists no structural method for measuring where one language begins and another one ends, and so we can use this perspective to point out how the idea that languages exist as neatly organized and separable entities is not founded in anything “real”. Instead, the notion is an ideological and political construction anchored in the national romanticist establishment of the nation state and its related notions of uniformity as ideal i.e. *one* nation consisting of *one* people sharing *one* culture, *one* language. It should also be noted though, that it has been argued that these ideas date all the way back to the enlightenment which gave birth to the modernist idea that language is perfectible and therefore requires intervention so as to make it more amenable to rational, logical and civil communication in the advantage of humans’ emancipation and general societal improvement (Absillis & Jaspers 2016: 5). Basing my study on this (rather prevalent and widespread) theoretical understanding of language, though, does not mean that I do not recognize and acknowledge the fact that many people, including the participants in this study, perceive languages to be real and to fall into these neat, fixed and countable boxes that we label Danish, French etc. Even though they are indeed constructions and thus not “real” per se, there is no denying the very real impact that these constructions have on real peoples’ lives. It merely means that when I talk about “languages” in this dissertation it is in the sense of *people’s perception of coherent and delimited sets of linguistic features* rather than as naturally existing entities.

The second development is in many ways linked to this theoretical deconstruction of languages as fixed entities and it is founded in Silverstein’s (1985) notion *the total linguistic fact*. Based on this, I approach language on a methodological level as a three-partite phenomenon consisting of form, use and ideology and I consider all communicative acts to produce and thus involve at all times all three dimensions (although of course to various degrees). This methodological approach has roots in American linguistic anthropology which constitutes a research agenda very similar to the (mostly) European interactional sociolinguistics one and whose primary interest is the study of how linguistic signs come to have both referential and relational meanings in social and cultural context (e.g. Dell Hymes 1964, Duranti 1997). As noted by Wortham (2008: 84), “[t]he meaning of any linguistic sign in *use* cannot be determined by decontextualized rules, whether linguistic or social. No matter how robust

the relevant regularities, speakers and hearers can use signs in unexpected yet meaningful ways". The aspect of language that Wortham (2008) points to here, has to do with the potential that language *in use* can sometimes come to have unexpected meaning in local contexts i.e. meanings that are different from the more prevalent, traditional and thus decontextualized ones. When used among groups of speakers in local environments, new meanings and new indexical associations are created which means that if we want to capture and understand such meaning making processes, we need to investigate them ethnographically. However, as implied by the characterization of language as a three partite phenomenon, we need to also include in our approach an attention to more widely circulating models of the social world i.e. *ideologies* of language which entail structural images of linguistic features and their most common users that people draw on as they interpret the social relations and indexical meanings that are being signaled through language use (Silverstein 1985). Needless to say there exist countless ideological models of languages and its (most common) speakers and although many are shared by large groups of speakers (like for instance the above mentioned idea of a national group of people sharing one common language), as individuals we each have our own unique models and thereby ideas about which linguistic resources belong together and with which type(s) of speakers. Our individual images are based on partly personal history and social experience and partly the above mentioned wider circulating cultural models of the social world that get (re)produced through various channels in, for instance, public discourse.

2.2 Enregisterment

It follows from this that ideologies of language are integrally dynamic and interchangeable and so in order for us to account for them in our analyses we need theoretical concepts that can illuminate the processes through which specific signs become recognized as belonging together. Agha (2005, 2007) delivers just that with his concept of enregisterment which he characterizes as the:

[...] processes and practices whereby performable signs
become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct,
differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population.
(Agha 2007: 81)

With its attention to how signs become associated with wider circulating cultural models and how these models then interact with micro-level everyday communication, the concept of enregisterment is a key concept within linguistic anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics and therefore also in this study. The reason being that it provides a framework for understanding how specific linguistic features and ways of speaking when used, talked about or parodied in certain types of situations by certain types of speakers come to point to or index specific speakers, types of behavior and/or other social stereotypical images of people, characteristics and practices. It also entails an understanding of people's interactional use of various linguistic forms as continuously (re)producing and thereby also at times reconfiguring the indexical meanings of these very forms. In this way, prevalent and stereotypical indexical meanings of linguistic or other semiotic forms can be brought about in interaction for situational purposes by either reproducing wider circulating notions of links between signs and speakers or by challenging the well-known and stereotypical images. Either way, the employment of various resources continuously contributes to their enregisterment which thereby underlines how the enregisterment process is never final but inherently ongoing. An important practice regarding these processes of recognition and perception and the general uptake of value ascriptions to linguistic forms and styles is metalinguistic labeling. In this aspect, mass media obviously play a significant role when they for instance label a certain urban youth style in Denmark "street-", or "gangster-" or "perker language" (Madsen et. al. 2016) but also the labeling practiced by researchers obviously plays a crucial role (see e.g. Jaspers 2008, Madsen 2015).

In this study, I employ the concept of enregisterment to illuminate the processes through which the pupils bring into play and establish indexical meanings in interaction, and to analyze how these processes intersect with (what I find to be) relevant socio-historical and discursive contexts. This allows me to investigate how some resources are added specific symbolic value in the two environments respectively and how this grants some pupils with special social rights and possibilities – and possibly also restrictions. Such an insight furthermore makes me able to analyze and discuss how linguistic and social processes mirror and produce local ideological understandings and perceptions about similarity/difference and equality/inequality and how this links up with social status hierarchies of more wide-ranging societal currency.

2.3 Contextualization cues

Another substantial theoretical concept important to this study is Gumperz' (1982, 1996) notion of *contextualization cues*. The concept was linked by Gumperz (1996: 378-381) together with the notion of *inferencing* which concerns internal processes of perception and understanding i.e. "[...] the interpretive work that people perform in trying to reconcile the material that they encounter in any given situation with their prior understanding" (Rampton 2017: 4). The concept of contextualization is (mostly) related to speech production. Contextualization cues are "[...] constellations of surface features of message form" and they constitute "[...] the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (Gumperz 1982: 131). These features can be for instance prosody, speech style, lexical choice, formulaic expressions and visual and gestural phenomena and they cue interpretive frameworks in which the propositional content of utterances, which can otherwise be ambiguous, is interpreted by the interlocutor. For instance, a laughter or a smile can let us know that an utterance is not to be taken seriously and thereby such cues can be the difference between a serious threat when people for instance say "I am going to kill you" and jocular fooling around. In this way, the concept of contextualization cues is intertwined with both the *total linguistic fact* (Silverstein 1985) and Agha's (2005, 2007) concept of enregisterment because it provides a theoretical frame for understanding how linguistic and other semiotic resources become associated with types of behavior, group affiliations and other identities in interaction. It also helps explain how these indexical links are continuously reproduced, exploited and reconfigured for situational purposes in various everyday communicative encounters. Although not dealt with much explicitly, inferential processes play an important part in this study as well seeing how the analytical interest to a large degree involves speakers' interpretation of various social everyday situations and practices.

Apart from the pivotal concepts of enregisterment and contextualization cues that can help explain the social regularities and irregularities connected to language in use, there are two other concepts whose importance to this dissertation is hard to overlook, namely the concepts of identity and social class. In this last paragraph concerning my theoretical framework, I account for my understanding of the relationship between language, identity and social class.

2.4 Language, identity and social class

Over the last three decades or so, the interrelationships between language and identities have constituted a key interest within applied linguistics. Even though the task of reaching a generally applicable and comprehensive theory of social identity (to some degree at least) remains unresolved, most researchers within this paradigm will agree by now that identity needs to be understood as a social process rather than as a fixed product. Block (2013: 17-18) describes the contemporary approach as adopting “[...] a social constructionist perspective according to which identity is about the multiple ways in which people position themselves and are positioned, that is, the different subjectivities and subject positions they inhabit or have ascribed to them, within particular social, historical and cultural contexts”. Describing identities as intersubjective actions points to social interaction as constituting the platform on which identities are produced. At the same time, it projects an image of identities as multifaceted repertoires (see also Blommaert 2005) that individuals are able to draw on in social encounters according to their aims for projecting and positioning themselves and/or others in certain ways. Language, of course, constitutes an important part of such repertoires, but also image, gesture, gaze and posture etc. should be recognized as important identity features given their ability to impact the perception of a person in any given situation. In my approach to identity, I align with the common tendency to approach the concept as a category of practice and thus focus analytically on the contextualized, social, semiotic and linguistic acts through which the everyday identity work among the participants is carried out. I construe these acts as parts of larger ongoing processes, which then enables me to investigate, for instance, the links between the situated identity work of the participants and structures of institutional and social inequality in the contemporary Danish society. In this way, I adopt a theoretical understanding of social class relations as constituting an important identity dimension and in this regard I find inspiration in the work of Rampton (2006, see also 2003, 2010) who not only defines in great detail what social class *is*, but also provides a thorough framework for investigating relations of social class as they unfold in and impact everyday communicative encounters. Based on the thinking of scholars like Marx (1844/1988), Volosinov (1976), Williams (1977), Bourdieu (1977), Thompson (1978) and Foucault (1980), Rampton (2006) outlines two levels of the dimensions of social class:

1. material conditions, ordinary experience, and everyday discourses, activities and practices – the “primary realities” or practical activity that are experienced differently by different people in different times, places and networks; and
2. secondary or “meta-level” representations: Ideologies, images, and discourses about social groups, *about* the relations of power between them, and about their different experiences of material conditions and practical activity.

(Rampton 2006: 222-223, emphasis in original)

Focusing on the social practices of adolescents in London, Rampton (2006) illustrates how a focus on these two levels can reveal important insights into the processes through which speakers use different linguistic and semiotic resources as well as various ways of speaking to convey for instance working class or upper class youth subjectivities. Following Marx’s (1844/1988) distinction between *class in itself* and *class for itself*, Rampton’s (2006) data show little evidence for *class for itself* given the tendency among the adolescents in question to have an explicit focus on race, ethnicity and gender issues. However, his data also reveal how *class in itself* works as an important underlying social structure by being layered within the more salient identity dimensions mentioned above. As noted by Block (2015), such studies underline how social class relations are inherently intertwined with other social categories and therefore he encourages scholars interested in investigating social class to work intersectionally “[...] examining the interrelationship between class and [...] race, ethnicity, and gender in ongoing material and discursive practices” (Block 2015: 8). In this dissertation, I adopt the understanding of social class as an important identity dimension and I understand this dimension as related to the existence and experience of unequal relationships in regard to employment and educational hierarchies, wealth, place of residence, opportunities and socio-cultural status (Bourdieu 1984, Abercrombie & Warde et al. 2000, Bradley 1996, Rampton 2010). I view social class as embedded in social relations and emergent in day-to-day activities (see also Block & Corona 2014). I approach the concept based on Rampton’s (2006) model above and at the same time I recognize its interrelationship with other important social categories of distinction. Based on the overall focus of this study, my intersectional focus is on the relationship between social class and ethnicity. It is important to note here that my exclusion of identity aspects related to (for instance) gender in my analyses should not be seen as me neglecting neither the general relevance of gender as a category of stratification and

marginalization nor the relevance of gender in the situations that I analyze or in my data in general. It merely means that I choose to focus on ethnicity and social class relations as a consequence of the overall framing of my study as concerning social difference in two ethno-culturally diverse and socio-economically different school environments.

Based on the theoretical framework presented above, my overall study approaches language and social difference with emphasis on three different focus areas with the subsequent research questions working as guidelines:

- 1) *Practical activities and language use* – Which linguistic resources and styles are used and for what purposes?
- 2) *Secondary representations of linguistic resources and categorization* – What alignments/disalignments and understandings do speakers display towards various linguistic resources?
- 3) *Cultural norms and categories* – How do these observations of language use, activities and value ascriptions relate to broader representations of minority/majority constructions, social status differences and processes of social stratification in the wider society?

In what follows, I outline what I consider to be contemporary issues in interactional sociolinguistics and explain in detail how this study will contribute to advancing our investigation and understanding of these issues which in many ways constitute essential topics in contemporary society.

3. Contemporary diversity, language and unequal power relations

For the last decade or so, a substantial amount of scholars within sociolinguistics have been preoccupied with investigating the impact of the migration flows which have changed the demographics of most parts of the Western society. The flows have brought together people with different (in some instances *very* different) social, cultural, religious, political and (last but not least) linguistic backgrounds especially in the larger cities of Western Europe. The main interest among sociolinguists has revolved around describing what such changes have meant to the sociolinguistic development on a societal level but particular attention has also been given to the quest for reaching a close understanding of the ways in which individuals in everyday activities use language to grasp and

deal with this diversity that has become an integral part of everyday life (Blommaert & Rampton 2011). In line with the historical tendency to use schools as empirical bases, a lot of this work has been devoted to analyzing the linguistic and social everyday life in contemporary school environments with a focus on the sociolinguistic discrepancy between today's diverse linguistic backgrounds of pupils and teachers and the general institutional aim of construing monolingual ideologies as the overarching means for achieving educational and societal success (see e.g. Blackledge & Creese 2010, Karrebæk 2013, Møller 2015, Jaspers 2017). From such studies, we have learned that pupils develop different strategies for dealing with this discrepancy with institutional demands pulling in one direction and peer group relationships in another. For instance, pupils in Copenhagen have been shown to vary their language use and thus make use of institutionally appreciated monolingual practices to signal academic competence when in the classroom or other related places engaging in teacher led activities of various kinds, while making use of more peer-to-peer related registers when spending time with friends in breaks or after school hours (e.g. Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014). Such registers have furthermore been shown to resemble each other across the many different urban youth environments that have been investigated as part of this common research effort (see e.g. Kotsinas 1988, Hewitt 1982, Nortier 2001, Auer 2003) which has led to general descriptions of such practices as for instance *contemporary urban vernaculars* (Rampton 2011). A key element in the practices associated with communication in heterogeneous youth environments is that of language "mixing" which basically means drawing on linguistic resources with different "national language associations" within the same speech production. The following is a textbook example from a study on the linguistic practices of contemporary Danish youth (Jørgensen et. al. 2011: 23) in which a Copenhagen girl writes to her friends on Facebook:

Maimuna 13:45:

har købt the equipment, skal bare finde tid til at lave en
spek- takulær én kun tje dig morok, den skal være speciel
med ekstra spice :P, sorry tar mig sammen denne weekend!
InsAllah

Translation:

have bought the equipment, just have to find the time to
make a spectacular one just for you morok, it has to be

special with extra spice :P, sorry will get it together
this weekend! InsAllah

In the example, Maimuna draws on linguistic resources associated with four national languages: Danish (har, købt etc.), English (the equipment), Arabic (insAllah), Turkish/old Armenian (morok) and she also incorporates a linguistic form (“tje”) associated with a Copenhagen urban speech style known as “street language” (see e.g. Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014). As explained by Jørgensen et. al. (2011), this is a common example of how contemporary youth use their linguistic repertoires to handle social peer relations and to construct desirable youth identities. In this way, examples like these also carry potential for supporting the theoretical claim mentioned above that the notion of language as a bounded code is both descriptively and theoretically inadequate by illustrating how young people continuously de-construct and transcend the normative boundaries between national languages in their everyday language use. It is evident from Maimuna’s production that she is not constrained by the fact that words like “købt”, “equipment”, “insAllah” and “morok” are not traditionally thought to “belong together” and therefore according to the institutionally anchored and widespread monolingualism norm are considered “wrong” to use within the same utterance.

3.1 Theoretical (and pedagogical) consequences

In attempts to account theoretically for what examples like Maimuna’s mean to our understanding and conceptualization of language and to deliver an analytical apparatus and a sociolinguistic theory that can sufficiently encapsulate the empirical complexity of current communicative conditions, various scholars within sociolinguistics have introduced a range of new names and concepts such as ‘polylingualism’ (Jørgensen 2003, 2008), ‘metrolingualism’ (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010), ‘codemeshing’ (Canagarajah 2011) and ‘translanguaging’ (Blackledge & Creese 2010; García & Li Wei 2014). Although there are substantial differences between them, what is common about these concepts is that they represent a more dynamic approach to what language is and how it is used. They also encourage us to take the participant perspective seriously and to understand productions like Maimuna’s at the level of features or resources instead of at the level of “languages”. Another consequence of such observations is that they have led to arguments that the structural foundations of contemporary schools are disharmonious with the pupil groups they are supposed to be designed to

accommodate. This argument along with the “new” perspectives on language and language use are beginning to not just attract considerable acclaim within the academy but also to enjoy some uptake outside of it. As noted by Jaspers and Madsen (2016: 236) this development reflects “[...] a growing conviction that the time is ripe for transcending the traditional widespread monolingual mindset”. Especially the political and ideological project of translanguaging seems to be gaining ground in this common quest for changing language education policies by basing language instruction on the actual demographic composition of the late modern globalized school settings i.e. the many different linguistic backgrounds of the pupils instead of just the interests of the nation state(s). It is described as follows:

“[t]ranslanguaging for us refers to languaging actions that enact a political process of social and subjectivity transformation which resists the asymmetries of power that language and other meaning-making codes, associated with one or another nationalist ideology, produce.”

(García & Li Wei 2014: 43)

The motivation behind the development of translanguaging is a common wish to contribute to a transformative pedagogy “[...] capable of calling forth bilingual subjectivities and sustaining bilingual performances that go beyond one or the other binary logic of two autonomous languages” (García & Li Wei 2014: 92-93). Despite being heavily celebrated and acknowledged as an important perspective on the question of how to approach the teaching of language in contemporary times of diversity, translanguaging is also criticized for being merely a pedagogical and language-political project that aims to make room for bilinguals’ multiple discursive practices at school. Among other things, it has been pointed out how such a project is from the beginning facing an almost impossible task by proposing that we turn the world of language teaching more or less upside down knowing how language education policies in general have been shown to serve the interests of *one* group whose language register is upheld as exemplary for all (Jaspers 2017). Imagining for instance a scenario in which the Danish policy and decision makers would agree that Arabic or Turkish should feature in any way in the curriculum of the Danish schools is borderline impossible because the general (and institutional) opinion regarding such languages is that they carry no value at all in the Danish society

(see e.g. Karrebæk 2013, Møller 2015). Secondly, as pointed out by Madsen and Jaspers (2016), one could easily accuse the translanguaging project of merely disguising ideological debate on which linguistic practices are valuable to whom when they first criticize public institutions for imposing ideological notions of what is “right” and “proper” language and then propose that we solve the issue by doing the same thing. Thereby the concept of translanguaging also “[...] ignore[s] the fact that some people observably use language in a way that schools are said to value, and that all language use is social and thus unavoidably manipulated well before school” (Jaspers and Madsen 2016: 236).

The debate concerning the implementation of these newer perspectives into the curricular activities of contemporary schools is thus ongoing and the task remains unresolved. Despite of this though, the platform on which the debate is formed is undisputable: The schools of today accommodate certain pupils at the expense of others and their discrimination is based on inadequate assumptions about language and the social and institutional world. The debate draws parallels to Bourdieu & Passeron’s (1977) claims that schools play an instrumental part in the socialization of children into state-licensed ideologies by functioning as a gate keeper for the upholding and reproduction of the ideological foundations of the nation state. What has changed though since Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) put forward their arguments is the demographic composition of the schools which to this day keeps moving further and further away from ethno-cultural and linguistic uniformity and towards diversity instead. What this means is that the demographic composition becomes more and more difficult to reconcile with the ideological foundations of the nation state. Thus, in the actual school environments of for instance Western Europe, more and more pupils come to school with family backgrounds that from an institutional point of view are considered inherently problematic and therefore challenging. Such developments speak to the importance of convincing politicians and other decision makers that a change within language education policies is a dire need. The overall aim of this dissertation is to play a role in this task by providing substantial empirically based knowledge about linguistic, cultural and ethnic complexity in the contemporary classroom. Such knowledge will help cast the challenges of youth and multiculturalism in a new light and thus not only advance the research field, but also help qualify and nuance discussions about integration and educational challenges in today’s society (see e.g. Rambøll 2010, Andersen et. al. 2012). Below, I present the methodological base of my study and

outline how such a tool kit will allow me to let my analyses constitute important discoveries in relation to these ongoing debates about unequal structural realities of contemporary schools.

4. Linguistic ethnography

Concepts like contextualization cues and inferencing (Gumperz 1982) show that socio-cultural knowledge is not just beliefs and judgments external to interaction; socio-cultural knowledge is *embedded* within the talk and behavior of interaction itself. As pointed out by Bailey (2008: 2314), “[...] this undermines a “conduit metaphor” or “information theory” notion of communication, in which context is presumed to be discrete and separate from communicative content” and thereby it also underlines the need for investigating ethnographically, rather than assuming, contexts for communication. In this aspect of my study, I employ linguistic ethnography (e.g. Rampton et. al. 2004, Blackledge & Creese 2010, Copland & Creese 2015) as a method for investigating such contexts. This furthermore means that I build my study on a theoretical conviction that language and social life are mutually shaping and that micro-level analyses of language in use can reveal essential insights into “real world issues” such as processes of stratification and segregation, issues of social status differences and inequality related to for instance ethnicity (and gender). Rampton et. al. (2004: 2-3) describe the basis of ethnography and its purpose like this:

Ethnography typically looks for the meaning and rationality in practices that seem strange from afar or at first. It tries to enter the informants’ life-world and to abstract (some of) its structuring features, and this entails a process of continuing alternation between involvement in local activity on the one hand, and on the other, an orientation to external audiences and frameworks beyond. [...]. Ethnography tries to comprehend both the tacit and articulated understandings of the participants in whatever processes and activities are being studied, and it tries to do justice to these understandings in its reports to outsiders.

Within ethnography, participant-observation plays a major role, and the processes involved in getting acquainted with the field and the participants, and also getting accepted by these, as well as the processes of learning and adjusting to different social and cultural practices, are themselves regarded as potentially consequential for the analysis. As discussed by many scholars concerned with the art of conducting ethnographic field work (see e.g. Adler & Adler 1994, Duranti 1997, Hong & Duff 2002, Creese et.al. 2008, Copland & Creese 2015), the task of staying close enough to the people and processes one investigates while at the same time never neglecting the importance of preserving analytical space for staying descriptive, is key within the approach. Even though every field site is different from the other, this task is inherently challenging given how it involves gaining the trust of individuals whom one (on most occasions at least) have never met before *and* doing so without compromising the possibility for gathering data from naturally occurring situations and interactions. Adler & Adler (1994) describe how this process is handled best by using a funnel metaphor to explain the field workers' role as evolving from relating to the field and the participants in purely a descriptive manner by performing very general observations based on broad and unpolished research questions to slowly gaining their trust and getting more familiar with the individuals and the environment one is investigating. In relation to this study, my experience of the process that Adler & Adler (1994) describe has not been the same at the two schools which mainly has to do with the fact that I have conducted field work at the public school before (see e.g. Nørreby 2012, Nørreby & Møller 2015, Nørreby 2016) as part of a collaborative research project (see Madsen et. al. 2016). So even though I did conduct a separate period of field work at this school for this particular study, I did not start from scratch seeing how I knew both the environment and also many of the pupils in advance. This was not the case at the private school which is why my effort in this environment to a higher degree resembled the process described by Adler & Adler (1994). In this environment, I had to spend the first few months on getting acquainted with the field and the participants before I was able to narrow my focus and turn my attention to the processes I was there to investigate.

Field notes constitute another important aspect of ethnographic field work. As described by Creese et. al. (2008: 198), field notes form the first step in the textualization process of the overall study and thereby they actually constitute primary data in line with the recordings. In this study, I draw on field notes written by myself as part of my ethnographic effort at the two schools I focus on, but I also draw

on field notes written by colleagues that have been produced as part of the collaborative project mentioned above (I describe this effort in detail below). Following the methodological approach of linguistic ethnography, I then combine my ethnographic observations/filed notes with micro-level analyses of recordings of conversations among the participants in various situations. I approach this part of the analytical task using many of the tools from traditional conversation analysis (CA) (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). Using as analytical tools concepts from CA like turn-taking and repair, is a substantial part of the linguistic ethnography approach; however what separates this approach from the traditional and ethnomethodologically anchored (Garfinkel 1984) CA approach is that in linguistic ethnography analyses of larger scale societal and discursive relations are accounted for as well. So where the traditional CA focus is purely on what goes on *within* the conversation, the linguistic ethnographic approach involves looking at larger societal structures as well as part of the explanation for what goes on in the interaction. In this way, linguistic ethnography can be said to borrow from CA and it is a common conviction and thus a main methodological point of this particular research agenda that ethnography benefits from the structured analytical frameworks of linguistics while linguistics then can benefit from the more reflexive, dynamic and sensitive nature of ethnography (Blackledge & Creese 2010: 63). This obviously makes the aspect of *context* vital to account for in the analyses and although such accounts will always be the results of subjective analytical observations conducted by the researcher, which thereby unavoidably leaves out potential perspectives of relevance, there is no denying that context is a key element in the understanding of interaction (Silverstein 1985, Blommaert 2005). Before describing the data that I collected as part of my ethnographic efforts and also the reason and motivation for selecting examples to focus on, I describe, below, the two field sites in detail. Seeing how one of the foci of this study is on social class relations I provide, as part of this description, the reader with thorough descriptions of the areas in which the schools are located because this aspect plays an important part in why they were chosen as being interesting to compare.

5. Field sites, participants and data

5.1 The public school

The first school can be described as an average Copenhagen public school. It is located in an area that used to be a rather homogeneous working class area, but which has now developed, in accordance with the rest of Copenhagen, into an area characterized by a pronounced demographic diversity (see also

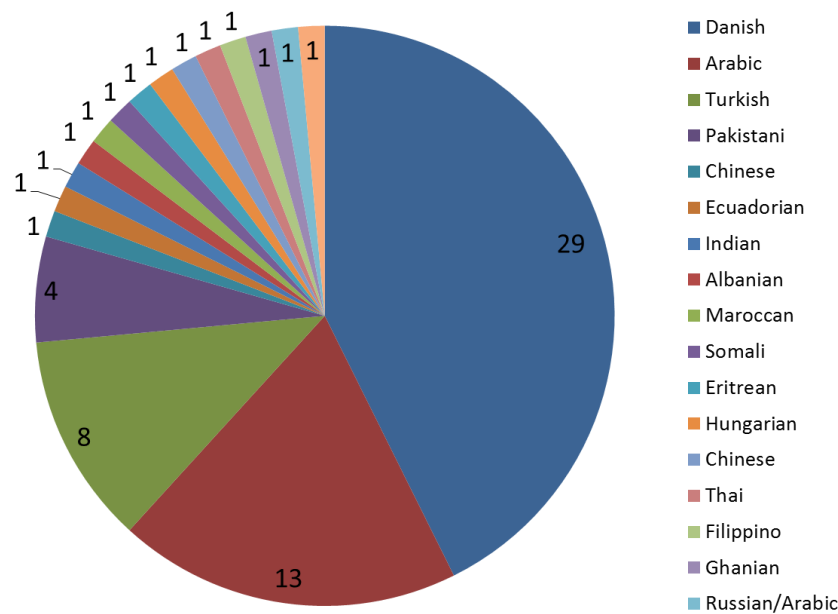
Madsen et. al. 2016). It is situated on a small island called Amager which is officially one common part of Copenhagen with one common area code. Unofficially, however, it is perceived to be divided into two parts: A Western part and an Eastern part. Over the last couple of decades, the two parts have become quite different. Amager West has gone through a rapid time of transition from being an area marked by industrialism and consisting mainly of factories and warehouses to now being a Copenhagen cultural hotspot and a place for leisure fun of all sorts like swimming, getting coffee, playing basketball, skating etc. On weekdays, the area houses students from The University of Copenhagen whose biggest campus is located here and also students from the IT University. Furthermore, several dormitories over the last couple of years have sprung up nearby contributing to the area's reputation as a hip, young and modern part of Copenhagen. On top of this, the most Western part of the area has been subject to a massive urban renewal investment which has resulted in a huge amount of new housing buildings (many of these in the "luxury class"), an enormous mall with shops, restaurants and a cinema as well as two large global award winning apartment buildings. In relation to the urban renewal and award winning housing projects, the housing prices of the area have also gone up steadily resulting in an overall socio-economic status and profile of Amager West which trumps the average Copenhagen one. In Amager West, there are practically no cheap spots and almost all real estate is rather expensive as compared to the more common parts of the capital. As a result, the inhabitants of this part of Amager are mostly people with high incomes i.e. people who belong to (the younger part of) Copenhagen's "upper class".

In contrast to the Western part and its development from industrial area to one of the hippest parts of Copenhagen, Amager East is the historically more common part of Amager which separates itself from the Western part by being more in line with the general image of Copenhagen both in regard to its ethno-cultural composition of people and its general socio-economic profile (although the Copenhagen of today holds quite a few expensive and posh neighbourhoods as well). Generally, the buildings at Amager East have been built in the 20th century and most buildings in this area are 50-100 year-old apartment buildings. It is (perhaps not surprisingly) also generally cheaper to live here compared to Amager West and the area also has several low-cost housing spaces. It used to be a working class area but over the last couple of decades Amager East has, in line with most of the rest of Copenhagen, developed into a middle class/lower middle class area characterized by demographic diversity with

18,6 % of its population being immigrants (numbers from 2014 where I started my field work) according to kk.dk. It follows from this that the positive discourse surrounding Amager West with its associations to being cool and hip does not apply to Amager East. Instead, this area is commonly associated with a more negative discursive image of Amager in general indexed, for instance, by its nickname “lorteøen” (eng: the shitty island) and by many it is also associated with gang violence because of the fact that one of the streets at Amager East houses a well-known “immigrant gang”. Of course, not all Copenhageners consider Amager East to be an undesirable place to live, however most Copenhageners will agree that there is a big difference between the Eastern and the Western part of Amager with the Western part being the generally more desirable place to live.

The public school which forms one of the two empirical bases in this study lies in Amager East. Both the school’s demography and its socio-economic profile fit the general image of this part of Amager, and actually a lot of the participants in this study live in the low-cost housing buildings mentioned above. The parents of the pupils generally have middle/lower-middle class jobs like school- and kindergarten teachers, taxi drivers, nurses, carpenters, police officers etc. According to the school’s own statistics, the pupil population consists of approximately 30% pupils with immigrant backgrounds, which is a little bit above the average for the area, but only slightly above the average for the Copenhagen public schools in general. In the three classes that I followed in my field work, the percentage of pupils who have family backgrounds outside of Denmark is higher than the average of the school with 38 pupils out of a total of 68. The list of countries that their families have ties in, as well as the related linguistic backgrounds, is long and it includes American, African, Middle Eastern and Asian family and language affiliations. The table below illustrates this wide range of backgrounds (it also features in article 2):

National backgrounds of the pupils (The public school)



As we can tell from the table, the children with Danish backgrounds form the largest group with 29 pupils out of a total of 68. The second largest groups are pupils with Arabic and Turkish family backgrounds which consist of 13 and eight pupils respectively. Then there is a smaller group of Pakistani descent (four pupils) and finally there are 14 pupils with other national backgrounds. The table illustrates quite clearly how there is a marked diversity within the pupil group by illustrating how the group consists of children with very different ethno-cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As mentioned above, this is not unusual in contemporary Copenhagen, however it is still something that has an effect on the everyday life in the school because it means that a large amount of the pupils, although they all consider Danish to be the language they use the most, are familiar with – and regularly use – other languages as well in their social everyday life.

The field work that I conducted at this school was only partly carried out on my own while some of it was carried out together with a team of researchers in relation to a collaborative project initially organized by the late Jens Normann Jørgensen (see Madsen et. al. 2016). As a part of the collaborative effort that was initiated almost 10 years ago, our research group decided at one point that one of the

studies should involve following three parallel classes from the first year of school (which is called the 0. grade in the Danish public school system) up until their last year of school (the 9th grade). This particular effort began in 2010 which means that this part of the project is still on-going. The pupils of the three parallel classes form the one group of participants in this study. The data presented involve situations from the 0th grade (5-6 year olds) up until the 4th grade (10-11 year olds) from all three classes, though with special focus on *one* of the three classes in their 4th and 5th school year because of the comparative aspect in relation to the data gathered at the private school (where I followed classes corresponding to the 4th and 5th grade in the Danish public school system). Although my ethnographic field work at the public school involving the participants in this study therefore has been going on for as long as they have attended school, most of the ethnography in this study revolves around two years of intense field work that I carried out from 2013-2015 during which I was present in one of the three parallel classes on a weekly basis. I also conducted interviews with the participants, recorded group conversations with them together with the research team and asked them to carry out several recordings both in- and outside the classroom (I elaborate on the recordings in paragraph 5.3.).

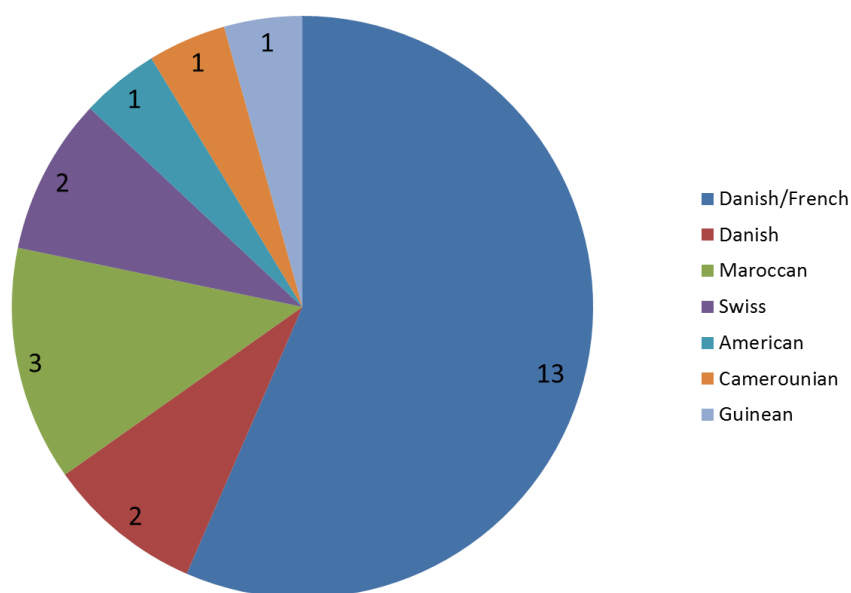
5.2 *The private school*

The other part of my ethnography was carried out at a French/Danish private school located in the city of Frederiksberg which is officially a municipality located in the center of Copenhagen but to most people living in the city, it is considered part of Copenhagen. The school was founded in 1954 and it has been driven as a private school partly within the framework of the Danish Ministry of Education and partly within the framework of the Agency for French Education Abroad ever since. So officially, the school is both French and Danish. Structurally though, the school resembles the French model for schooling by offering teaching from *maternelle* (nursery school) with the children being around 3 years of age all the way up to matriculation, and it provides the pupils with the possibility of taking a Danish-French *Baccalauréat* (DFB) which is recognized in both countries. The French structure is mirrored in the class room culture as well. For instance, the pupils are expected to use only polite forms of address towards their teachers and especially, after the enrolment into *Le Collège* (secondary school), the pupils are generally subject to a much stricter discipline concerning both the element of preparation and the actual classroom practices compared to what we know to be the case in the Danish public schools (more on this below). When the school was founded, it was named after one of the most well-known

members of the royal family and as such a name clearly signals, the school belongs to the upper part of the Danish education hierarchy and can easily be characterized as elite. The area in which the school is located, which according to Copenhagen's official tourist guide is labeled by the Copenhageners as "The Paris of Copenhagen" (www.visitcopenhagen.dk), is primarily known for its expensive addresses and its vibrant, cool and "French" atmosphere. Right across from the school is one of the most popular wine bars in Copenhagen and its two neighbors are a French café and a luxurious chocolate store. These modern, posh and (to some extent at least) French surroundings go well together with the school demography which is characterized by a large amount of pupils with French national or French speaking family backgrounds and also a large amount of pupils who come from wealthy, upper class homes both in- and outside Copenhagen. According to the school's official statistics, the general pupil population consists of children from no more than 38 national backgrounds, however in its statistics on its website, the school still emphasizes the French/Danish divisions using the overall four categories of *French*, *Danish*, *French-Danish* and *other* (see table in article 4). In the (close to) two years of field work that I conducted at this school, the percentage of pupils divided into the four categories were 28% French pupils (this number went up to 31% in the second year), 21% Danish pupils, 36% French-Danish pupils (this number went down to 33% in the second year) and 15% pupils of other backgrounds. So the largest group was categorized as French-Danish which, as I learned, for the most part meant pupils with one French parent and one Danish parent.

In the class that holds the main participants from this part of the ethnography, the distribution of pupils is slightly different from the general image of the school since the majority of the 23 pupils (namely thirteen) belong to the French-Danish category by having one parent born in France and one born in Denmark as illustrated in this table (which also features in article 2):

National backgrounds of the pupils (The private school)



As we can also see, the rest of the pupils have parents born in a variety of places with the three pupils who have Moroccan family backgrounds forming the largest group among these. However, together the participants have at least one Danish speaking parent and, as the time of ethnographic observations also revealed, this means that almost all of them consider Danish to be the language they use the most and are most familiar with. So in this respect, the participants from the private school, even though they attend a French school, resemble the ones from the public school by having a preference for using Danish in most situations.

Unlike the field work at Amager, the ethnographic effort at Frederiksberg was carried out mainly by myself, although the overall effort was organized together with a colleague who was also at the school a few times during the period. We started our field work in the spring of 2015 in a CM2 class which is the last class in *L'école* (primary school), when the pupils were at the age of 10 and 11. This class was then split into two different classes after the summer when they were enrolled into 6ième which is the first class of *Le Collège* (secondary school). This switch from CM2 to 6ième also represents quite a substantial structural shift as the pupils go from having one primary teacher and one primary classroom in CM2 (a structure that resembles that of the Danish public schools) to having many different teachers

that are specialized in one or a few course subjects and to having to move around to different rooms assigned for the different subjects. Also, the strict discipline mentioned above is more pronounced. For instance, if pupils are late for classes in 6ième or if they have failed to do their homework, they will be sent to the administration office to fill in a note or to the study hall to do individual school assignments as a sort of punishment. Another substantial difference between *L'école* and *Le Collège* is that the children once enrolled into 6ième are allowed to leave the premises of the school in breaks, and they are each given a locker for their books, food etc. in the hallway reserved for the school's older pupils. This is also different from the public school where the children are not allowed to leave the premises of the school until in the 8th grade. The 6ième class that we followed included nine of the pupils who were also part of the CM2 class and we chose this class simply because this was the largest group of pupils from the CM2 class who were enrolled into the same 6ième class. Most of the data presented in this dissertation stem from the last year of field work, and the few pieces of data from the CM2 class involve the pupils who were later enrolled into the 6ième class in focus.

The above-average socio-economic profile of the school is mirrored in the job titles of the pupils' parents who work as pilots, scientists, directors, bankers, engineers, politicians, photographers, chefs at high end restaurants etc. However, there were also a few whose parents have lower middle class jobs and work as mechanics, secretaries, pedagogues, nurses etc. That does not change the fact, though, that the participants from the private school in general come from much more socio-economically privileged backgrounds compared to the participants at the public school. Apart from being apparent through the pupils' material possessions such as mobile phones (almost all of them had the newest I-phone) and clothes (designer-shoes, -dresses and -bags), this perspective was also often visible in the practices of the pupils. For instance, they would go out to buy lunch and come back with a baguette from the popular nearby store "Le Gourmand" with stuffed duck breast and foie gras or one pupil would, more or less spontaneously, buy several bags of chips or a huge bag of candy to share with the rest of the class. This happened several times during my time of field work at this school whereas I never experienced anything similar at the public school.

5.3 *The selection of data examples*

All in all, my data collection from the two schools consist of several hundred pages of field notes as well as more than 100 hours of self-recordings in which the pupils are wearing mp3 recorders on their shirts or jackets mostly during the school day but also after school hours during various leisure activities. Apart from this, it includes 17 teacher interviews, interviews with all the pupils in groups and also around 100 group recordings (only from the public school) in which pupils in groups of three or four engage together without any adults present in various assignments (I explain the details of these group recordings in article 1 in which they constitute the main data). Needless to say, such a massive amount of data asks for both patience when going through the entire collection and, perhaps more importantly, a strategy for singling out what excerpts to focus on in the analyses. When I started going through my data, I did so with my overall research question in mind which I then used as a guide to my listening. In other words, I went looking for instances in which social differences were being enacted or talked into being in the pupils' interactional encounters. Furthermore, I was able to use my ethnographic background knowledge to pick out recordings to focus on in which I knew from my field work observations that such issues were at play. The data examples presented in this dissertation thereby represent my subjective view on what constitute interesting situations in regard to my overall theme of language and social difference. I thereby also recognize that my examples, as a result of my selection, do not come close to telling the whole story about these (fascinating) Copenhagen children. They do tell the story though, of how these two groups of pupils use language as a social means to perform distinctions in their everyday lives and how such actions reveal insights into their ideological conceptions of similarity and difference and social status relations in the contemporary Danish society. They also illustrate how links between linguistic repertoires, social hierarchies and prestige are constructed, reconfigured and reaffirmed in the pupils' practices by involving for instance situations in which the pupils use linguistic features associated with speaking Danish with an accent to position themselves as stupid and laughable as well as interactions in which certain identities are linked to having a low social (and educational) status. This, in fact, is why they were chosen; not because the examples are supposed to tell the *whole* story about the participants of this study but because they help tell the one story I set out to tell.

As mentioned above, the impact-related motivation for telling this story lies in a conviction that there is a dire need within the educational reality of contemporary Denmark to reach a closer understanding of the impact that the demographic changes we have witnessed over the last couple of decades have on the linguistic and social everyday life in the Danish schools. As things are now, the gap between the structural model and aims that guide the official school activities and the pronounced diversity among the pupils (and teachers) makes up for an inexpedient learning environment in which far too many pupils become disadvantaged. This obviously needs to change if we wish to advance our educational system and provide our children with the best opportunities for becoming successful citizens. Also, there is a need within public discourse to nuance the discussions on educational challenges that otherwise seem stuck in a dichotomic image of the reality of Danish schooling in which ethnicity, as the only category of relevance, is given far too much explanatory power. As the data and my analyses will show, we need to recognize the intersection of ethnicity and social class relations (e.g. McCall 2005, Crompton 2008, Block 2014) and to allow for such relations to feature as integral parts of the discussion on the important topic of diversity in the contemporary schools. As my study also shows, contemporary Copenhagen school children continuously show awareness of structural inequality both in relation to the sociolinguistic order of speech styles in contemporary Denmark and in relation to identity belonging when they exploit these dimensions of stratification for social positioning on scales of in vs. out, competent vs. incompetent and high social status vs. low social status, and they do so as a way of dealing with the social, linguistic and cultural diversity that is an integral part of their everyday life.

The other part of the motivation for conducting this study relates to the empirical gap within interactional sociolinguistics mentioned above. As much as we have learned about the language of children and youth in and around public lower/middle class school environments all over the world, the role that language plays in their socialization and in their ways of organizing their social worlds, we still know very little about how these things play out in socio-economically privileged elite environments. As I intend to show, there is a huge potential here, not just for learning about youth language in “new” environments, but also for learning more about sociolinguistic developments in general by using such environments as aspects of comparison and perspectivation. It is my hope that this dissertation becomes a testament to this potential and forms inspiration for advancing the research

paradigm of interactional sociolinguistics. Before concluding this introduction by giving a brief presentation of the four articles, I outline my ethical considerations in relation to conducting my study.

5.4 Ethical concerns

In any social scientific work that involves ethnographic field work, the privacy of the participants is a basic ethical concern. This study is of course no exception, and so in order to ensure the privacy of my participants I have made use of the following precautionary measures. First of all, I made sure, before even starting my field work, to have written consents from all the parents of the pupils to use the data for research purposes. Among all the children at both schools, only one pupil's parents said no to their child being part of the project. So this individual does not feature in any of the field notes and was never interviewed. Also, the parts of the recordings in which the voice of this person appears have not been subject to analysis. Secondly, the names of the participants (both pupils and teachers) have been changed to pseudonyms in order to ensure their privacy. Another ethical concern I have to address is the problem of anonymizing a French/Danish school in Copenhagen. Given how such a school is quite unique, it is of course extremely difficult (not to say impossible) to anonymize the school to such an extent that no one would be able to find out which actual school we are talking about. Fortunately, there are several CM2 classes and 6ième classes at the school which goes a long way in ensuring the individual participants' privacy. So although one might be able to identify the school in reality, it wouldn't be possible to find out which classes have been the subject to the ethnography based on what is presented in this dissertation. Furthermore, the administration of the school when accepting to be part of the project is of course well aware of these circumstances which I take as 1) a sign of faith in my ability to ensure the privacy of the participants and 2) a sign of them not finding the possibility of their school being identified as the school in focus problematic in any way. Finally, I made sure to always provide thorough answers to questions concerning the structural part of my research whenever pupils, teachers or administrative personnel would ask me, and I repeatedly let all the participants know that the data would be handled according to the basic ethical guidelines concerning this kind of research.

6. Outline of the dissertation

In this introduction, I have laid out the overall arguments of my dissertation and accounted for my theoretical and methodological approach to the study of language and social difference. The main part

of my dissertation consists of four articles; three of them written for journals or as book chapters. Three of them, I wrote myself and one of them is co-written. Below, I provide the reader with a brief description of the main focuses and findings as well the status of publication of each article.

Article 1: Emerging indexical reconfigurations. Copenhagen children's use of ethnicity labels as markers of bad behavior, forthc. in King's College Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies [under peer review]

In this article, I investigate the interactional use of the linguistic labels “araber” (Arab) and “perker” (traditionally a derogatory term for people with non-Western backgrounds) among pupils at the public school and discuss the situated use and its indexical outcomes in relation to tendencies in Danish public debates on schooling to equate having an ethnic minority background with academic and social failure. Through my analyses, I reveal a discrepancy between the predominant and traditional indexicalities of the labels that link them to ethno-cultural belonging and the ways in which they are used and perceived among the pupils in focus who treat them (mainly) as indexical of transgressive and ill-advised social behavior. Even though the empirical examples are few, they reveal a clear common normative understanding of the two labels and their indexicalities (Ochs 1992, Silverstein 2003) among the pupils, and on these grounds I point to a potential ongoing development through which “araber” and “perker” are being indexically reconfigured from markers of ethnic identity to now mainly functioning as emblems of a general transgressive and inappropriate social behavior seen in relation to institutional norms and expectations.

Article 2: Stylizations, stratification and social prestige, a previous version was published in Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies, paper 195

In this article, I analyze two examples (one from each school) of situated and stylized uses of linguistic and prosodic features that have been described as prevalent features of the contemporary urban vernacular (Rampton 2011) in Copenhagen known as street language (see e.g. Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014). Although the performances are carried out in these two very different sociolinguistic environments, I show how they in similar ways involve aspects of ambiguity through which the performers highlight their access and right to use features of the register, while at the same time dis-associating themselves from its indexical values through what could be characterized as *vari-*

directional double voicing (Bakhtin 1984: 194). The performances mirror how the contemporary urban vernacular “status” of street language is not at all a done deal by illustrating how the social reputation and indexical meanings of the features in focus are (still) objects of ongoing, conflictual typification practices. Unlike prevalent understandings of street language as being an established way of speaking, the data presented indicate that the historical link to “learner Danish” from which it emancipated from in the first place, is still alive and kicking in the minds and social repertoires of contemporary youth. Apart from thereby constituting important snapshots of the ongoing enregisterment (Agha 2005, 2007) of widely recognized and frequently used linguistic features among Danish (urban) youth, the data also reveal a sensitivity and awareness among these Copenhagen pupils of the unequal dimensions of stratification in the sociolinguistic order of speech styles in contemporary Denmark. I argue that the two performers exploit these structures of inequality for social positioning on scales of in vs. out, competent vs. incompetent and high social status vs. low social status and thereby reproduce ideological notions of social status differences of wider societal currency as a way of dealing with the social, linguistic and cultural diversity that has become an integral part of their everyday life.

Article 3: Multiculturalism as capital. Diversity and social stratification in Danish schools, forth. in Madsen, Lian Malai (ed.) Special Issue of I-LanD Journal: *Investigating social class in contemporary societies – language, indexicality and inequality in Denmark* [article accepted, special issue under review].

In this article, I take a closer look at the private school’s discursive understanding of *multiculturalism as capital* (Bourdieu 1986) as it is articulated on its website. In my analyses, I focus on a case revolving around an English lesson in the 6ième class and investigate how this discursive view of multiculturalism and bi-/multilingualism as academic assets is reproduced in the pupils’ and teachers’ social and linguistic practices. I compare the practices and their discursive outcome with the dominating and prevalent tendencies in Danish public discourse to treat diversity and multilingualism as inherently problematic. Through this comparison, I illustrate how the two vastly different ways of dealing with contemporary pupil diversity represent two (just as different) cultural models and how these models form two bi-/multilingual pupil identities which, although they to a large extent are similar, are substantially unequally valorized. Drawing parallels to Jaspers’ (2009) distinction between *prestigious* and *plebeian multilingualism*, my analyses reveal how the widespread narrative in Danish

public discourse that presents bilingual identities as a problematic part of the learning environment is housing a layer of social class which, although it is rarely explicitly dealt with in debates concerning the subject, is imperative for the representation of school diversity as a basic societal problem. Therefore, I argue that it is pivotal that we widen and nuance our understanding and approach to the important topic of diversity in the contemporary (Danish) schools by allowing social class relations and perspectives like the marketization of language education (Block & Gray 2016) in the globalized (Western) society feature as integral aspects when we discuss schooling and educational challenges in today's society.

Article 4: The symbolic organization of languages in a high prestige school, forthc. in Jaspers, Jürgen & Lian Malai Madsen (eds.): *Langugised lives. Fixity and fluidity in sociolinguistic theory and practice*. Routledge.

This article is written together with Lian Malai Madsen and in it we examine explicit and implicit beliefs about language and linguistic diversity as they are expressed and enacted among teachers and pupils at the private school. In addition, we discuss these in relation to dominating language regimes and patterns of social stratification in the wider Danish society, and as we have seen such beliefs being (re)produced in urban public school contexts in previous research (e.g. Madsen et. al. 2016). Through our analyses, we show how multi-monolingualism norms are generally dominating within formal educational activities at the private school and that the pupils show an awareness of and sensitivity towards sociolinguistic indexicalities of wider currency in Danish society as well. We also show how their way of relating to and using linguistic hybridity is substantially different from what we have observed among pupils in public schools and leisure contexts by being highly marked and treated mainly as a prop for having fun and thus as something not to be seriously invested in (see also Nørreby 2017). Furthermore, we show how standard Danish at the school gets institutionally treated as associated with informality, lack of discipline and low academic prestige and how this places Danish in an ambiguous position among the pupils who view Danish as the preferred means for peer communication. In this way, standard Danish at the private school seems to serve functions similar to those that the urban vernacular register (e.g. Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014) serves in the urban public schools by being treated as the local 'slang' (Agha 2015).

Article 1

Emerging indexical reconfigurations

Copenhagen children's use of ethnicity labels as markers of bad behavior

Introduction

In this article, I investigate the interactional use of the linguistic labels “araber” and “perker” among a group of Copenhagen school children and discuss its indexical outcomes in relation to public discursive tendencies in contemporary Denmark to equate having an ethnic minority background with academic and social failure. Both labels are well-known to the Danish public and predominantly they are associated with ethnic belonging and ethno-cultural heritage. Even though the interactional examples are few, they indicate a clear common normative understanding of the two labels and their indexicalities (Ochs 1992, Silverstein 2003) among the group of children in focus. Within this understanding, the indexical element pointing to ethno-cultural relations does not seem to play a prominent role; instead the use invokes mainly associations to age, school orientation and to transgressive and ill-advised (social and linguistic) behavior seen in relation to prevalent institutional norms. The data thus reveal a discrepancy between this local use and understanding of “araber” and “perker” and the predominant indexicalities of the labels. On the basis of these observations, I point to a potential ongoing development through which “araber” and “perker” are being indexically reconfigured from markers of ethnic identity to now mainly functioning as emblems of a general transgressive and inappropriate social behavior seen in relation to institutional norms and expectations. Furthermore, I argue that these emerging changes in the indexical field (Eckert 2008) of the two labels link up with a wider societal tendency to treat ethnicity as inherently linked to social failure i.e. a general failure to live up to the institutionalized standards and norms of the Danish society. In this way, the study also illustrates how wide-spread public discourses that link certain non-Danish identities to social and educational failure impact the ways in which Copenhagen school children view and understand themselves and their peers.

Demographic changes and their impact on social science

In globalized societies (Giddens 1991, Bauman 1998), people are able to move and communicate over long distances with increasing speed due to various digital communication technologies. At the same

time, lower fares on international transportation as well as the implementation of political projects such as the freedom of movement for workers in the EU have facilitated international travel and living, and as a result (many) people have become less tied to specific geographical locations than what used to be the case merely a couple of decades ago. This societal development has sparked an international interest within social science to learn more about what the demographic changes mean for the relation between human origin/ancestry, language and ethnic identity. Vertovec (2007: 5) formulates a key assumption about the contemporary Western world when he concludes that in rapidly changing societies “belonging, loyalty and attachment are not parts of a zero-sum game based on a single nation-state and society”. Vertovec’s (2006, 2007) studies of the demographics of London both capture the growing complexity of the relation between individual and ethnic or national belonging, and emphasize the inadequacy of the established and politically sanctified approaches to how ethnic identity or ethnic belonging go together with language and norms and value affiliation that we see mirrored in contemporary political debates about immigration and social (in)cohesion. Whereas sociologists like Vertovec have focused on the demographic aspect of the globalized societies, sociolinguists have been more preoccupied with studying the impact that increasing human mobility has on language. Studies on the subject of language and ethnicity/race (see e.g. Rampton 1995, 2006, Bailey 2002, Harris 2006, Chun 2011) have reinforced Vertovec’s argument that we need to develop new theoretical and analytical tools if we wish to grasp contemporary diversity. They have done so by showing how ethnicity (and race) get constructed through dynamic and inherently complex social processes, thus revealing how the question of what counts as ethnicity to whom, in what ways and with what (social) consequences is in many ways a question of local understandings and negotiations rather than pre-given circumstances. What may count as ethnic terms through a given macro-discursive lens can, in principle, be locally reconfigured to do non-ethnic work such as gender and class commentary depending on the situated circumstances, motivations and concerns. In this way, these studies also represent a break with the predominant image of ethnicity as a static and inborn quality, showing how individuals in everyday social realities treat ethnicity (and race) as something one can play around with, temporarily inhabit, transcend and create new versions of. This has also been shown to be the case for Copenhagen adolescents who have been shown to view and treat their ethnic (family) backgrounds as having significance for the way they understand themselves and others, and yet also as something that

is socially and situationally constructed, de-constructed, negotiated and ascribed through social (inter)action (see e.g. Stæhr 2010, Nørreby & Møller 2015, Nørreby 2016).

In two aspects, this study builds on the above mentioned studies on ethnicity and language in Copenhagen. First of all, it sets out to investigate how two labels that are predominantly associated with ethnic relations are used as means for understanding and dealing with everyday diversity in a school environment. Secondly, the ethnographic field work that forms the empirical base has been carried out in the same public school environment as the studies mentioned above. However, whereas these earlier studies all focused purely on the same group of adolescents around the time of their graduation in 2011 (see e.g. Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014, Møller 2015, Nørreby 2016), the empirical focus of this study is on school starters. More specifically, I focus on a pupil group in three parallel classes over a time span of five years i.e. from their first year of school in 2010 up until 2015. Below, I present the theoretical and methodological framework of my study and explain how I intend to link my analytical observations to larger scale societal and public discursive processes in contemporary Denmark. After that, I provide the reader with a more thorough review of the ethnographic field work on which I build my study. But before doing so, I offer to the reader some contextualization of the two labels in focus by first considering their traditional and predominant uses in Danish public discourse and then drawing on previous studies of the use among Copenhagen adolescents.

“Araber” and “perker” in public discourse

“Araber” in Danish can be somewhat straightforwardly translated into “Arab” in English which means that if we consider only the traditional denotational meaning of “araber”, we are dealing with a linguistic designator that describes or refers to people who speak Arabic, (usually) are Muslim, have dark or brownish skin, black hair and have family ties to the Middle East or in other countries where Arabic is the major language. This traditional image is reflected in the use of the label in the public sphere in Denmark where it often comes up in debates about ethnic and cultural difference and social integration as illustrated in these newspaper headlines:

”Kan vi lære at leve med arabere?” (Can we learn to live with Arabs?)

www.b.dk 23.02.15

“Hvorfor hader arabere jøder?” (Why do Arabs hate Jews?)

www.blogs.bt.dk 20.03.15

Such headlines constitute very common examples of the use of “araber” in Danish public discourse and they also reveal a range of tendencies in the general public understanding of the label. First of all, as illustrated in the first headline being an “araber” is generally perceived as equal to being “non-Danish” as revealed by the “we” which is supposed to refer to “the Danes”. Secondly, the construction of Arabs as people we have to “learn to live with” i.e. as people who by ways of their (linguistic and cultural) heritage are incompatible with the Danish society and the Danish way of living (whatever that is) has become one of the most frequently used arguments within debates about integration and schooling (see also Møller 2016, Nørreby 2016). Thirdly, there is a tendency in public discourse to project Arabs as one homogeneous group of people who share norms and values and act in similar ways. As illustrated in the second headline, this seems to imply that being an Arab is synonymous with hating Jews (which obviously is a dubious claim to say the least). Within this popular discursive dichotomy of Danes and Arabs as two incompatible ethnic groups, there is furthermore a tendency to highlight language as a key element of difference as illustrated in the following statement from a politician from a widely popular right wing party called The Danish People’s Party (my translation): “*Signs in Arabic signal [...] that if they don’t care to learn Danish, then Denmark will adapt to them – and not the other way around*”. The statement featured in a political debate on signing in the Danish supermarkets which had emerged as a consequence of one single supermarket having decided to put up signs in Arabic to make the lives of its many local Arabic speaking fugitives a little bit less problematic. The statement above illustrated the general political opinion on the subject and the debate thereby reaffirmed the prevalent discursive projection of Arabs and Danes as an incompatible ethnic dichotomy. As these examples show, the label “araber” in a broad sense is mainly used and perceived as a designator for people who by way of their ethno-cultural and linguistic heritage are different and in many ways incompatible to the norms and values of the Danish society. An “araber” speaks differently, looks different (from the stereotypical image of an average Dane), affiliates with and carries with her or him a foreign and different culture seen from a Danish perspective.

Although it shares a lot of the same characteristics as “araber” by being mainly used to point to ethnic relations, the label “perker” is also slightly different as it is generally used and perceived as a designator that comprises many ethnicities into one. Of course one could argue that the same goes for “araber” but where “araber” is mainly linked to people who have a family background in Arabic speaking countries, perker is a broader category. The term is well known to the Danish public where the predominant perception is that it is a derogatory term that describes or designates people with non-Western backgrounds (Hyttel-Sørensen 2016, Nørreby 2016). It is also considered a taboo term as it connotes discourses of racism as described by an employer at The Danish Language Board in a large Danish newspaper:

"Jeg tror ikke, at det er nogen god idé, at man som bleg dansker går rundt og siger perker. Det er endnu for tidligt at bruge ordet som en neutral betegnelse,"

(I don't think that it is a good idea if you as a pale Dane walk around saying perker. It is still too soon to use it as a neutral designation)

www.information.dk 27.09.05

As implied in the quote, the use of “perker” is generally considered to be somewhat restricted to people who view themselves as belonging to the category. Later in the same article a language professor points out that this is related to the fact that “perker” is used to name a widely debated and stigmatized ethnic minority group. In a lot of ways “perker” can thereby be said to resemble the American “n-word” and also the British “Paki” which are also both well-known to the public in USA and Britain respectively but at the same time potentially dangerous to use for out-group individuals. “Perker” also resembles these labels in another way as studies have shown how the predominantly negative indexical meanings of the word has been locally reversed into something positive i.e. as indexical of street wise, cool and tough hip hop identities and associated with the use of a certain youth register (Agha 2005, 2007) known as “street language” (e.g. Møller & Jørgensen 2012, Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014) and pan-ethnic minority culture (Madsen 2013: 133).

“Araber” and “perker” among Copenhagen adolescents

As mentioned above, previous studies have involved the investigation of the use of the labels in focus here among a group of adolescents who attended the same school as the participants of this study. The adolescents were followed from 2009 to 2011 as part of the collaborative research project on Everyday Linguaging (Madsen et. al. 2016). As revealed by these studies, “Araber” and “perker” were used frequently by the adolescents as means for identification and dis-identification with various ethnic identities that in different ways related to ethno-cultural and linguistic family backgrounds (Stæhr 2014, Nørreby & Møller 2015, Nørreby 2016). A general observation was that the adolescents used the label “araber” in the widespread sense, meaning that they used it as an index of having an Arabic-speaking family background and/or a middle-Eastern appearance (having dark skin and dark hair). This was done in both jocular and serious ways depending on the situation at hand as well as the individuals involved. For instance, it was done through very context-dependent reactions to situated exposures of a lack of knowledge of various Danish cultural and geographic relations or through uses of certain linguistic and semiotic items or idiomatic expressions projected as Arabic (Nørreby 2016). At other times, it was done through ascriptions of “araber” identities that were rooted in a more decontextualized circulating image of ethnic belonging and heritage where the adolescents would use their knowledge of a given individual’s family background as catalyst for the ascription (Nørreby & Møller 2015). Finally, the adolescents would also use the “araber” label to evoke identities associated with a lower social status and primitiveness by drawing on popular discourses of integration that link the “araber” identity to being a strain on the Danish society (Møller 2016).

Among these adolescents, the label “perker” was just as frequently used as the “araber” label. As described in Nørreby (2016), the label was often used within a binary frame of Danes and non-Danes with “perker” describing the non-Danes. This use generally had clear parallels to the contextualization of “perker” in public discourse although often in the reversed sense with the indexicalities being predominantly positive, meaning that being a “perker” among the adolescents was first and foremost equal to being cool, young and street wise. It connoted minority culture and minority identity but in a positive sense. Along these lines, it was also linked to having access to, and having the right to use, the above mentioned street language register.

In sum, the understanding of “araber” and “perker” among the studied adolescents was not far from the traditional and predominant understanding of the labels represented in public discourse. However, the label “perker” did stand out as a desirable identity ascription which contrasts with the understanding of the label in public discourse as a derogatory term. For the present study, what is important to note is that both “araber” and “perker” among the older pupils, although they were treated in interaction as dynamic and negotiable identities, they were predominantly contextualized as emblems of ethnic relations.

Ethnography and data

The data presented here were collected as part of the above mentioned longitudinal collaborative study on the language use of children and youth at a public school in Copenhagen (Madsen et. al. 2016). For this particular study, I focus on data from three parallel classes who started school in 2010. The excerpts presented are from the period 2010-2015 i.e. from the children’s first year of school until their fourth grade year and they involve pupils from all three parallel classes. As the focus of this study is on situations in which certain labels are used and thus not on particular individuals within the pupil group, the excerpts have been picked out based on a thorough examination of recordings of group conversations, self-recordings and ethnographic field notes through which I have looked for specific instances of the use of the labels in question. The group conversations which have been recorded once a year since 2010 as part of the collaborative effort, involve three to four pupils engaging in interaction while carrying out various assignments without any adult presence. The concrete assignments are explained in detail in relation to the analyses. Besides the group recordings, I also went through around 50 hours of self-recordings where different pupils have worn portable mp3-recorders at different times during the school year as well as about 100 pages of field notes. As mentioned in the introduction, the examples may be few when seen in relation to the amount of data that I have gone through. However, as we shall see the examples still expose a significant common normative understanding of the two labels and their indexicalities among this group of Copenhagen children. And because of this, their empirical potential for pointing towards potential indexical reconfigurations of widely recognized identity labels should not be overlooked. Before turning to the examples though, I first provide the reader with an outline of the theoretical and methodological tools that I employ in my analyses.

Role designators and diacritics

The main objective of this study is to disclose the indexical links between the labels “araber” and “perker” respectively and the social roles and behaviors they point to among the children in focus. In order to do so, I employ as an analytical tool Agha’s (2007) conceptual model of role designators and diacritics. Role designators are “[...] linguistic expressions that classify members of the population into categories of persons” (Agha 2007: 246) while diacritics are the indexical signs that function as means for distinguishing one type of role from another i.e. recognizing behavior as being typical of one role or another. The model draws clear parallels to Sacks’ (1972, 1992) classical theoretical concepts of membership categorization and category-bound activities in which social categories like “araber” and “perker” would be operationalized as interactional devices for categorizing and classifying people as belonging together and engaging in category-bound activities (Sacks 1972: 330). What separates Agha’s model from the ethnomethodologically anchored membership categorization analysis is that it allows for wider circulating discourses and socio-historical contexts to be included in the analyses *and* it urges us to see and understand the interactional use of the role designators not just as part of situated action but also as part of ongoing processes of enregisterment (Agha 2005, 2007). This is important because as Agha reminds us:

Whereas instances of prototypical role conduct are only perceivable while the conduct is under way, explicit stereotypes of conduct permit a decontextualized form of circulation.
(Agha 2007: 248)

My analyses therefore include a two-level focus on 1) the speakers’ characterizations of the roles of “araber” and “perker” and 2) what the individuals that are being ascribed the roles of “araber” or “perker” (commonly) do. This means that I look at how the pupils link the roles they label “araber” and “perker” to specific types of behavior and also how they interpret particular (pragmatic) behavior as a sign of a person inhabiting these roles. This way of treating “araber” and “perker” as meta-pragmatic labels for forms of conduct, furthermore allows me to reach more general insights into the ongoing configuration of the linguistic labels “araber” and “perker” in this particular Copenhagen locale. In this regard, the focus on the use of the same labels among the older group of pupils who left the school in

2011 is of course interesting because it enables me to point to possible trajectories of social and linguistic meaning making across two pupil groups in the same environment and community through which substantial linguistic markers of (ethnic) identity are being reanalyzed and reconfigured with (potentially) new indexical outcomes.

Interactional frames

To explore the question of *when (i.e. in which situations), how and with what social outcomes*, the labels are brought about, I employ Goffman's (1986) concept of interactional frames. Looking at the organization of the activities that take place and thus *frame* the pupils' interactional encounters, allows me to outline a pattern regarding the character and nature of the social situations in which the labels come into play and thereby to link these activities to the interactional functions and indexicalities of "araber" and "perker". As we shall see, there is an important similarity between the social situations in which the interactions take place, namely the fact that they all take place in the context of school work i.e. in social situations in which the pupils are involved in an assignment that they have been given either by a teacher or by a researcher within the physical confines of the school. Although the interactions unfold both in- and outside the classroom and both with- and without the presence of a teacher or any other potential authority figure, I argue that this framework has primacy i.e. is *the outermost layer* (Goffman 1986: 82) in all the situations. By this, I mean that the participants in all the examples find themselves in contexts of social and cultural familiarity engaging in *guided doings* (ibid: 22). Apart from the physical surroundings and the fact that the social situations in focus all revolve around group work/assignments, this framework and the related normativity and social conventions shaping what goes on, is also interactionally highlighted in the different cases. This is done through, for instance, utterances that in various ways emphasize this normativity as a guide for what is supposed to (and *not* supposed to) be going on in terms of social and linguistic behavior. It is also done through instances of frame switching/breaking and keying (ibid: 40) in which one or more pupils perform either unauthorized laminations or outright breaks of the outermost layer by using their interpretations of a given situation as concerning school-related activities to transform the social situation into revolving around *transgressing* (rather than complying to) the conventional and institutional norms related to these activities. And they do so by performing linguistic and/or other social actions that thereby highlight the social and institutional norms by breaking them. This is illustrated in the first excerpt of

the analyses section below in which one pupil, Mads, is ascribed the role of a “perker” on the basis of different instances of pragmatic behavior that two of his classmates interpret as being in opposition to the norms and expectations of the school.

The “perker” role

In the first section of analyses, I focus on situations in which the label “perker” is brought about as a role designator in interaction. The excerpts that I analyze stem from a video recording of a group conversation from May 2015 when the pupils were attending the fourth grade at the age of 10 and 11 and from a field work visit to the school in November 2014 respectively. That I was not able to find any instances of the use of “perker” prior to 2014 most likely has to do with the general conception of this linguistic designator as a cuss word and a taboo term which might explain its less frequent use among these Copenhagen children compared to the older generation at the same school.

The first two excerpts were taken from a video recording of a group conversation that involves four pupils who attend the same class. The pupils are engaging in an assignment in which I have asked them to create four individual drawings under the theme of “what would a perfect week look like to you” on a large sheet of paper. Present are Lina, Mehmet, Mads and Selda (after explaining to them what the assignment is about, I have left the room). Lina is 10 years old and has an Albanian family background, both Mehmet and Selda are 11 and have Turkish family backgrounds and Mads who is also 11 years old has a Danish family background. The whole recording lasts about 45 minutes with Lina and Mehmet being mostly involved in the interactions. Selda only enters the conversation when her drawing is being disrupted and Mads, who is generally one of the more introvert and quiet children in the class, almost only speaks when he is spoken to. At one point, Lina and Mehmet start to talk about their teachers.

“He thinks he is a perker”

01 Meh:	nej de er søde nogle er	Meh:	no they are nice some are
02	<fucking søde>		<fucking nice>
03 Lin:	<ja> Toke og dem de er søde	Lin:	<yes> Toke and those guys are nice
04 Meh:	også <Lin: og de andre> ja	Meh:	also <Lin: and the others> yes
05	(.) jeg hader nogen (.) det		(.) some of them I hate (.) that

06	er rigtig (1.0) Inger	is true (1.0) Inger
07	((laver en lyd der	((makes a sound that
08	indikerer at han synes	indicates that he thinks
09	hun er forfærdelig))	she is terrible))
10	ej hende kan jeg godt lide	no I like her
11	(.) hun hun hun er sød	(.) she she she is nice
12 Lin:	Mads hvorfor laver du	Lin: Mads how come you never do
13	aldrig dine lektier	your home work
14 Mad:	fordi jeg ikke gider	Mad: because I don't feel like it
15 Meh:	oh	Meh: oh
16 Lin:	han tror han er perker	Lin: he thinks he is a perker

After Mehmet's statements about his mixed feelings towards the primary teacher of their class, Inger, Lina stays within the frame switch of informal talk, that Mehmet has introduced, while still maintaining the outermost layer of being a pupil engaged in an assignment (in this case an assignment given by a researcher) doing what *you are supposed to do* by asking Mads why he never does his homework (lines 12-13). Mads' response that this is simply because he does not "feel like it" (line 14), indicates that the school norms and rules that dictate that the pupils are expected to do their homework is not something that he takes seriously. The video furthermore shows how Mads uses his body language to support his statement by keeping his eyes on his drawing while responding and also raising his shoulders to support his indifference to the matter. With his utterance and body language, Mads distinguishes himself from a good and proper pupil who applies to the norms and expectations of the school that Lina highlights with her question, and this pragmatic behavior is then interpreted by Lina as a sign of Mads trying to inhabit the role of a "perker" (line 16).

However, as the next excerpt illustrates it is not just Mads' attitudes towards school that constitute reasons for ascribing to him the role of a "perker". Also his language use is subject to a similar interpretation by Lina when Mads at one point during the same recording gets frustrated by the assignment at hand and exclaims:

"Perker language"

01 Mad:	jeg ved ikke hvad fuck	Mad: I don't know what the fuck I am
---------	------------------------	--------------------------------------

02	jeg skal skrive xxx		supposed to write xxx
03	fuck det her		fuck this
04 Lin:	PERKERSPROG (!) DET (!)er	Lin:	PERKER LANGUAGE (!) THAT (!)
05	fandeme ikke godt <det der>		God damn it is not good <that>
06 Meh:	<JEG FINDER MIG IKKE I DET>	Meh:	<I AM NOT PUTTING UP WITH THIS>
07	xxx wollah hvad hvis		xxx wollah what if
08	din mor		your mother

Lina reacts immediately to Mads' utterance in lines 1-3 by labeling it "perker language" (line 4). In accordance with her behavior in the previous excerpt, Lina once again uses a context of institutionalized conventions as a normative frame for evaluating Mads' pragmatic behavior which she deems inappropriate by saying that it is "not good" (line 5). It is most likely that she is reacting to Mads' use of the swear word "fuck" which by school norms is not acceptable to use as well as his use of an intonation pattern in his outburst "I don't know what the fuck I am supposed to write" that is characteristic of the above mentioned street language register (Madsen 2013). There is an irony to her evaluation, though, which possibly was also the case in the previous excerpt as she herself has in fact used the word "fuck" prior in the recording (and she also happens to be a somewhat frequent user of the street language register herself) so her evaluation and stance taking here is most likely not to be taken too seriously. Note how she also uses a swear word in the evaluation in line 5 ("fandeme"/God damn") which underlines her evaluation as jocular/non-serious. Then in the next turn, Mehmet jumps on board and takes a similar stance of an evaluative authority and asks Mads to think about what his mother would say if she heard him use that kind of language or perhaps saw him act like this (lines 7-8). In the same way as Lina, he signals that his remark is not meant to be taken too seriously by keying his message through the use of a word (in his case "wollah") which is also associated with street language and which thereby is also generally unacceptable to use in school to indicate that Mads' behavior is violating the exact same norms i.e. the school norms. In this way, both Mehmet and Lina are making it quite clear that they are animating, rather than claiming to be, authorities. And in this way, Mehmet's and Lina's stance taking could actually be interpreted as them assigning all three of them common "perker" roles in a non-serious and jocular frame. Furthermore, the fact that Mehmet incorporates an element of age to the diacritics of this role by hypothetically asking what Mads thinks would happen if his mother heard him use that kind of language, suggests that the role of "perker" apart

from being indexically linked to the transgression of both school norms and more general institutionalized norms for proper behavior, is also treated as emblematic of being young, immature and childish (and potentially also comically anomalous by linking a tough and street wise identity to being scared of one's mother). So in this situation, the pupils indexically link the role of "perker" to using swear words, being lazy and/or resistant, not doing homework and otherwise not being compliant to the norms of the school and the adult society – and potentially also to being immature and childish (although the humour might reside in a quite moment-specific conjunction of street and immaturity). Finally, as already noted, the children in this excerpt have different ethnic family backgrounds, and perhaps most importantly Mads, who is directly ascribed the role of a "perker", has a Danish background. This suggests that the role of "perker" by these children in this situation is mainly being used *not* to highlight ethnic belonging but to highlight an unwillingness and inability to live up to various institutionalized norms for proper behavior.

The next example is a field note describing an episode in a handcraft lesson in one of the three parallel classes in November 2014. In the situation, four girls are sitting around a table working on their advent calendars as they have been instructed to do by their teacher. The teacher then leaves the room upon which the girls start behaving and talking differently as described in the field note. The group in focus consists of Alina who is 10 years old and has a Turkish/Kurdish family background, Gül who is 9 and has a Kurdish background, and Aisha and Sanna who are 10 and 11 years old respectively and both have Arabic family backgrounds. They are all at this point in time close friends both in- and outside the school and some of them go to Koran school together as well. In the situation, I am observing the girls from a table close by and the following is a translation of what I wrote down in my note book:

A perker girl

In the handicraft lesson, the pupils have been asked to work on their advent calenders. Gül, Sanna, Aisha and Alina sit together at the same table. They are clearly enjoying themselves now that Inger has left the room. Especially Sanna is making a lot of fun. On several occasions I hear "wollah", "say wollah" and "say wollah you" being more or less shouted out... I also hear the word "eow" and expressions such as "tsk" and "you dog" being used. Furthermore I

hear Alina calling herself a “perker girl” more than once.
Especially Sanna and Alina are clearly enjoying themselves.
(Field note TRN 17.11.14)

As described in the field note, the girls start behaving differently as soon as their teacher leaves the room. They become louder and they also start talking differently as compared to how they “normally” talk when in class. Based on my ethnographic background knowledge, I know for instance that “wollah” and “eow” and also idiomatic expressions such as “you dog” and “say wollah you” constitute words and expressions which the girls would never use in front of their teacher(s) because of their association with the street language register. Therefore, it seems highly likely that this situated uncommon interplay between the girls doing group work in class while at the same time engaging in this type of pragmatic transgressive behavior which would normally take place outside the school, is one of the main reasons why the girls seem to be enjoying themselves so much. In other words, it is the unauthorized lamination by which the girls animate the school frame to engage in a kind of unofficial “time out” that is funny i.e. the girls transgressing the norms of the school and thereby laminating a group work situation *in* class to be about enjoying the use of “dirty words” associated with non-curricular/out of school activities. Apart from instantiating transgression and fun, their way of speaking here furthermore gets indexically linked to the role of a “perker-girl” by Alina. Interestingly, there are a lot of similarities between the girls’ pragmatic behavior in this situation and (some of) the values of the street language register that were highlighted by the previously studied adolescents who drew up indexical links between using the register and being tough, young, non-academic and also being a “perker”. Obviously, we cannot say for sure if this is what makes Alina call herself a “perker-girl”. However, if we take into consideration the parallels between Alina’s behavior and the meta-pragmatic framework of the street language register as it was presented by the adolescents (Jørgensen & Møller 2012, Madsen 2013) *and* also how Alina’s use of “perker-girl” in many ways resembles the way in which Lina and Mehmet used the “perker” label in the previous excerpt, there seem to be enough indications to at least suggest that the label in this situation is being associated with the use of certain words (“wollah” and “eow”) and idiomatic expressions (“you dog”) and thereby also with transgressive linguistic (and social) behavior. And in this particular case, it also gets linked to unrestrained fun and

in-group cool, youth identities – all of which stand in opposition to the prevalent norms and expectations of the school.

Looking at the organization of the social activity that frames the situation, we see a lot of similarities to the previous examples of the use of “perker” as a role designator. Once again, there are several signs within the situation that highlight a frame of *school activity* as having primacy such as the girls sitting in the classroom during school hours engaging in a school assignment that they have been asked to do (in this case) by their teacher. Then, we see how the girls (probably as a result of their teacher’s absence) break the frame of the assignment to engage in an unauthorized “time-out” by adding a layer of transgression and fun to the activity while still maintaining the frame of being at school/in class. In a very similar way to what we saw Mehmet, Lina and Mads do in the previous example, this break with the expectations and norms of the school gets highlighted and in this case linked to the role of a “perker (girl)”. Here, the indexical work is mainly done by Alina who uses the label to position and identify herself as being cool and fun by talking and behaving in a way that stands in contrast with the institutionalized, normative expectations of the school. Next, we turn to the “araber” label which, as we shall see, is being used in a similar way among these Copenhagen children.

The “araber” role

The first excerpt of this section is another example of the yearly group conversations¹. The following conversation was recorded in 2011 with the children being in their first year of school. Present are two boys at the age of 6, Tommy and Konrad, and two girls, Michelle who is 7 and Ella who is 6 years old. All four attend the same class and they all have Danish family backgrounds. In the situation, they have been asked to put together a poster from items that they have to cut out of a variety of magazines that we (the research group) have bought and collected for the purpose.

“I am an Arab”

01 Mic:	fuck (.) undskyld	Mic:	fuck (.) sorry
02	((fniser))		((giggles))
03 Kon:	NÅ NU KAN NU KAN DEN	Kon:	WELL NOW IT NOW IT

¹ This excerpt is also treated in Karrebæk (2015)

04	HØRE DET	HEARS IT
05	(.) den har lige hørt det	(.) it just heard it
06 Tom:	nu har den optaget det	Tom: now it has recorded it
07 Kon:	haha <ha>	Kon: haha <ha>
08 Mic:	<haha undskyld (.) xxx	Mic: <haha sorry (.) xxx
09	det var ikke min mening	that was not intended
10	det der	that
11 Tom:	åh: fucking l:ort (.)	Tom: oh: fucking sh:it (.)
12	IH <IIII (.) hi hihi>	IH <IIII (.) hi hihi>
13 Mic:	<Tommy (.) hva	Mic: <Tommy (.) what
14	lav:er [pron: law:er] du>	are you doing>
15	<har du din øh kx xxx>	<are you having your eh kx xxx>
16 Kon:	<ER DU ARA↑BER> (.)	Kon: <ARE YOU AN ↑ARAB> (.)
17 Mic:	nej:h	Mic: no:h
18 Kon:	jahahaha <ha>	Kon: yeshahaha <ha>
19 Tom:	<mjeg ER araber> (.)	Tom: <mI AM an Arab> (.)
20 Kon:	nhihi	Kon: nhihi
21 Mic:	hvad rager det dig	Mic: what is it to you anyway
22 Tom:	demundisundi: ((synges))	Tom: demundisundi: ((sings it))
23 Kon:	I arabere <de>	Kon: you Arabs <they>
24 Tom:	<KHABAKHALÆ xabaxalæ>	Tom: <KHABAKHALE xabaxale>
25	(.) jeg siger khabakhale	(.) I am saying khabakhale
26	xabaxalæ det betyder	xabaxale it means
27	((fniser)) de:n lh:	((giggles)) tha:t lh:
28	(.) l: det betyder	(.) l: it means
29	det <l o r t> ((fniser))	it <s h i t> ((giggles))
30 Mic:	<haha ej Tommy xxx>	Mic: <haha no Tommy xxx>
31 Kon:	<khalæi xalei>	Kon: <khalei xalei>
32 Tom:	SHEDA:M [pron: s ^h e,dam]	Tom: SHEDA:M [pron: s ^h e,dam]
33 Mic:	SHEIDAMA (.) jeg ved ikke	Mic: SHEIDAMA (.) I do not know
34	hvad det betyder	what it means
35 Tom:	hende der hun ved	Tom: that girl she does not even know
36	ikke engang hvad shæidam	what sheidam
37	det betyder (.)	means (.)
38	hehe (.) BUH	hehe (.) BUH
39	((til Konrad))	((directed at Konrad))

40 Ell:	det betyder sikkert shit	Ell:	it probably means shit
41 Tom:	nej!	Tom:	no!
42 Mic:	haha	Mic:	haha

The excerpt starts by Michelle exclaiming “fuck”; possibly as a reaction to the assignment at hand, but then she quickly excuses her exclamation (line 1). The exclamation as well as her giggling while apologizing shows that she is aware that the children are placed in a school context (it could of course also be the context of being recorded) where certain words (such as *fuck*) generally are not appreciated. At the same time, her exclamation as well as her smiling apology could also be interpreted as signs of her showing awareness of the fact that there are no obvious authorities present in the situation and thus taking advantage of a rare possibility for exploring social and linguistic behaviour *in* the classroom that, seen from a school perspective, would normally not be accepted. The fact that Konrad and Tommy both quickly point out that their behaviour is being recorded (line 3-6), shows that they both recognize Michelle’s utterance as potentially transgressive i.e. as something that the listeners of the tape might not appreciate. With their utterances, they furthermore incorporate the recorder as a sort of authoritative “norm center” and use this to try to baffle Michelle by making her aware of a possible and potential sanction. As an additional reaction to Michelle’s “fuck”, she is asked by Konrad whether she is an “araber” (line 16) illustrating how Konrad seems to interpret the pragmatic behaviour of swearing as a diacritic of this particular role. Michelle rejects Konrad’s suggestion (line 17) but then Tommy responds by claiming that he is in fact one (line 19). He then presents the others with two lexical items (with which I am unfamiliar): *demundisundi* (line 22) and *khbabkhalæ* (line 24) which he translates as “shit” (lines 28-29). However, by spelling and not saying out loud what it supposedly means, Tommy shows the same kind of awareness that Michelle did when she (accidentally) said “fuck”; namely an awareness of the institutionalized norms which deem swearing inappropriate and not allowed. After this, he deploys another lexical item “shædam” (line 32) which seems to be equivalent in pragmatic and indexical value to *khbabkhalæ*. Although *Khabakhalæ* is not standard Arabic, its resemblance to Arabic *khara* which does in fact mean “shit” is most likely not coincidental and this suggests that Tommy is not just coming up with the word out of thin air. He most likely perceives it to be Arabic which then grants him the expertise to translate. Note also how he corrects Michelle when she says that *shædam* probably means shit (line 40) which in a way consolidates his role as an “araber” in the situation.

The excerpt shows how Michelle, Konrad and Tommy together apply the role designator “araber” to linguistic tokens of *demundisundi*, *khabahalæ*, *shædam* and *fuck* as well as the transgressive nature of them. It also shows how the indexical links between the role of an “araber” and knowing and using these particular words are used by Tommy to position himself as a cool, smart and street wise kid who is not afraid of transgressing the norms of the school. In fact, we might even accuse him of having fun with it much like we saw Alina have when she labelled herself a “perker girl”. This interpretation is furthermore underlined by the several contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982) of laughter and giggles that we see throughout the entire interactional sequence. Thereby, the excerpt constitutes an example of how “araber” among these Copenhagen school starters is not used as a designator for people who speak Arabic and have family ties in the Middle East; instead it gets linked to coolness, youth identity and transgression of institutionalized norms. Of course, there are also diacritics invoked by the use in the excerpt that are in line with the more predominant understanding of “araber” such as the (ethno-cultural) knowledge of what Tommy perceives to be Arabic words. Apart from these indexicalities, however, “araber” is mainly being linked to transgressive behaviour like swearing and being (deliberately) incompilant to the highlighted institutionalized norms. In this light, it is of course also noteworthy that all the four children who are present have Danish family backgrounds. Finally, seeing how such an example stands quite alone (I was not able to find any more examples of the use of Araber in the data that I went through until the fourth grade), it raises the important question of whether these indexical links/diacritics are merely contingently generated at this particular interactional moment, or whether the associations have been incorporated into the relatively stable valence (Ochs 1996: 417-419, see also Rampton 2006: 303-305) of the index. I do not suggest that this study is capable of providing the reader with a conclusive answer to this question. However, when seen in relation to the next two examples as well as in relation to the study of Karrebæk (2016) who reveals a similar discrepancy between the widespread assumption of what an “Araber” (and Arabic) is and the assumption and understanding among the same pupils that I focus on here, we definitely cannot rule out the possibility that there is at least some stability to the understanding of the indexicalities of the “araber” label among this group of school starters. The common indexical work that is highlighted and analyzed in both this and Karrebæk’s (2016) studies definitely draw a picture of a group of children who perceive and use “araber” as a label for designating identities whose diacritics are more related to transgressive social

(and linguistic) behavior than to the ethnic or cultural belonging that the labels are predominantly associated with.

The last section of analyses reaffirms this image. It relates to a series of altercations between two groups in one of the three parallel classes with especially five girls involved; Aisha, Gül, Sanna and Alina (who were also part of the “perker girl” situation) and Selda (who was also a part of the group conversation with Mads, Mehmet and Lina). Selda has a Turkish family background while Alina has a Turkish/Kurdish family background. Gül has a Kurdish background and Aisha and Sanna have Arabic family backgrounds. Up until the beginning of December 2014, these five girls were best friends but then they were split into two groups because of a series of disagreements. The excerpt in focus is an interaction between Aisha, Gül and Selda that takes places in the hallway outside the classroom. However, there are a series of incidents and interactions that lead up to this conversation that in many ways contextualize what is being said in the hallway and which the reader therefore needs to be familiar with. 15 minutes prior to the conversation in the hallway, Aisha while working on her advent calendar in a group in class has told the girls that she is sitting with (a group that includes Gül and Selda among others) that Alina and Sanna have been bugging her of late. In a low and almost whispering voice, she reveals some of the things that they have done and said to her. For instance she claims that Alina and Sanna have been physically violent towards her, displayed dishonest behavior, thrown around nasty comments about her and her older sister being overweight and also implied that Aisha by watching the tv show “Voice Junior” is behaving like a baby. Then when Alina one day according to Aisha kicked her bag, Aisha finally had enough as she implies below in her conversation with Gül:

“Fucking dog”

01 Ais:	så sagde jeg	Ais:	then I said
02	fucking hund til hende		fucking dog to her
03 Gül:	hvorfor leger du så stadig	Gül:	then why do you still
04	med dem		play with them
05 Ais:	jeg gider heller ikke lege	Ais:	I am not going to play
06	med dem mere og jeg gider		with them anymore and I do not
07	heller ikke til Koran		want to go to Koran

Aisha's story and the amount of events that she brings to light make her "fucking dog" (line 2) remark which is obviously meant as an insult stick out as a clear signal that she has now had enough of Alina's (and Sanna's) mean behavior. That Gül shares this interpretation is illustrated by her question in lines 3-4 where she asks Aisha to reconsider her relationship with Alina and the group that she (at least in the eyes of these girls) is part of. Judging from Aisha's response, she seems to have already done so and apart from not wanting to play with them anymore, she also states that she will stop going to Koran classes with Alina (lines 5-8).

After the mentioning of the Koran school, the girls leave the subject of group conflict for a while. Then about 10 minutes later when the class is dismissed, the girls, led by Aisha, contact their primary teacher, Inger, to let her in on the problems they are experiencing. After Gül has told Inger about yet another example of bullying, Inger repeats an advice that she has already given Aisha earlier that same week. Inger's understanding of the whole situation is very much in line with Gül's, Aisha's and Selda's and she also generally aligns with the girls regarding the question of who are the victims in the conflict. Her advice is a suggestion that the three girls take a break from the others until they can be trusted to behave like "good friends" again. With her advice, Inger thereby confirms that the girls' contemplations about letting Alina's and Sanna's social behavior impact their friendship are well founded. In her suggestion, Inger furthermore draws on a normative frame of social (school) behavior that links to the concept of being a "good friend" (she uses this phrase more than once) and which is anchored in an institutional expectation that the pupils are good to each other. So in many ways, their teacher reaffirms the frame from the girls' prior conversation of a group conflict and also confirms the girls' understanding of the social situation as concerning transgression of the school norms and expectations for social conduct. After the talk with Inger, Aisha, Gül and Selda go towards the canteen to get something to eat. However, they are still not entirely done with exchanging opinions about Alina and Sanna as the following interaction in the hallway shows:

"Little Arab dogs"

01 Ais: skal de ikke slappe af (.) | Ais: don't they need to relax (.)

02 der der er kun tre i deres 03 gruppe og plus Mehmet og 04 Alexei så slemt 05 er det altså heller ikke 06 Gül: se (!) og øh 07 ((larm fra håndværkere 08 som er i færd med at 09 renovere gangen)) 10 (.) Aisha de siger 11 Ais: jeg gider heller ikke lege 12 med dem <mere> 13 Gül: <Sanna xxx> 14 Ais: xxx jeg gider ikke gå til 15 Koran med Alina fordi at de 16 opfører sig som sådan nogle 17 små araberhunde 18 ((larm og mumlen)) 19 xxx <først var de strenge 20 mod mig> 21 Gül: <ved du hvad hun sagde↑> 22 Ais: <og så blev de søde> 23 Gül: <v (!) v (!) v (!)> (.) 24 ved du hvad hun sagde↑ (.) 25 hun sagde du skal hvis du 26 skal være en af os så skal 27 du fø lære at være o ond på 28 en ordentlig måde (.) 29 spille s xxx og du skal 30 ikke bare spille sej xxx 31 du skal være (!) sej	they they are only three in their group and plus Mehmet and Alexei they are not that bad Gül: look (!) and eh ((noise from some craftsmen who are renovating the hallway)) (.) Aisha they say Ais: I don't want to play with them <anymore> Gül: <Sanna xxx> Ais: xxx I don't want to go to Koran with Alina because they behave like a couple of little Arab dogs ((noise and mumbling)) xxx <first they were mean towards me> Gül: <do you know what she said↑> Ais: <and then they were nice> Gül: <w (!) w (!) w (!)> (.) do you know what she said↑ (.) she said you must if you want to be one of us then you fi have to learn to be m mean in a proper way (.) act a xxx and not just act cool xxx you have to be (!) cool
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By saying that the other group needs to relax and that “it is not that bad” (lines 4-5), Aisha implies that the group members of Alina’s group think too much of themselves. She formulates this observation as a question (probably seeking the others’ approval) and tries to back up her argument by referring to the fact that Alina’s group only has five members (lines 1-4). She then repeats what she said earlier in the

classroom that she does not want to play with Alina or go to Koran school with her anymore and she explicitly points to Alina's way of behaving as the reason behind her decision (lines 14-20).

Interestingly, Aisha then links Aisha's behavior to the role designator of "little Arab dogs" (line 17). As we saw in the excerpt above, this is not the first time that Aisha uses the label "dog" to describe Alina (in the classroom conversation she called Alina "a fucking dog"). Seeing that the interaction in the hallway takes place within the same frame of dispute, there is a lot to suggest that Aisha's use of "dog" here carries the same pragmatic value of being an insult. This time, however, she takes the insult *one up* by adding "dog" to the role designator of "araber" and then linking this role to Alina's and Sanna's transgression of the norms for acceptable social behavior (that has just been highlighted by their teacher) and also to their inability or unwillingness to act as "good friends". Furthermore, I argue that by calling them *little* "Arab dogs" Aisha is belittling Alina and Sanna in an attempt to position herself as the mature party in the conflict (which she also did in cooperation with her teacher 10 minutes earlier). Interestingly, Gül who, as mentioned above, is a part of Aisha's group and therefore generally aligns with Aisha in the whole dispute, then adds to the description of the other group members saying that Sanna's group requires their members to be mean in a "proper" way by not just *playing* cool and mean but *being* cool (and mean) (lines 25-31). Her description adds to the projection of the other group as one that mistakenly (at least in accordance with the school norms for proper social behavior) positively valorizes being mean.

In regard to the organization of these three sequences of related events, there are signs in both the classroom conversation and in their conversation with their teacher that once again highlight a frame of school activities where certain norms and expectations shape what is (supposed to be) going on. When Aisha starts telling the stories about Sanna and Alina, the girls are doing an assignment that the teacher has asked them to do. In the interaction, the girls are almost whispering which indicates that they are aware that the talk concerning the group conflict constitutes non-curricular activity and therefore would not be appreciated by their teacher if she were to hear them. This furthermore illustrates how the girls are laminating the frame of group disputes on top of the frame of school activities. Of course, their whispering also has to do with the fact that Alina who is sitting in the same classroom is not supposed to hear them. Then the conversation between Gül, Aisha, Selda and their teacher, Inger, reaffirms this frame and it also adds to the frame the school's role in educating the children in social responsibility. I

suggest that this element of social responsibility and being mature is what Gül uses to spin her utterance in the hallway around. It seems that she is using Inger's invitation for them to be the more mature party in the dispute to position Alina and her friends as immature and childish when they describe mean behavior as a positive thing.

So once again the use of "araber" invokes a dimension of youth in group/out group dynamics and once again the diacritics that get indexically linked to the role are transgressive and ill-advised social behavior that stands in opposition to the norms and expectations of the school. In this series of disputes, it is used by Aisha and Gül to draw up the lines between the two groups of girls in question. Furthermore, the fact that most of the girls have Arabic family backgrounds, including Aisha herself, suggests that the "araber" role by these girls is not treated as indexing ethnic relations. At the same time, it should of course also be noted how "little Arab dogs" in some ways also comes off as a kind of racist slur said by someone (Aisha) who is hurt, disappointed and who by way of being so feels legitimized to use racist slurs even though they might apply to herself. In that case, the example only reaffirms the point that the understanding and use of these labels among this group of Copenhagen children is ambiguous and that the local reconfigurations that I have analyzed always go together with less-local and more established meanings.

As was the case with "perker", there are not too many examples of the use of "araber" as a role designator among the participants. As was also the case with the use of "perker" though, the use of "araber" reveals a remarkable shared sense among the children of what the diacritics of this role are. In relation to both labels, the indexical links between the roles that they designate and the various socially and linguistically transgressive behaviors that get highlighted in the different social situations are never questioned, nor do they require any further explanations.

Emerging changes in the indexical field

My analyses of the Copenhagen school children's interactional use of "araber" and "perker" in different situations reveal an interesting discrepancy between the diacritics that are/get linked to these labels among this particular group of children and the more prevalent image of indexical signs that we see mirrored in the use in Danish public discourse. As my analyses illustrate, the participants of this

study do not seem to perceive and treat the labels as being mainly markers of non-Danish ethnicities. The only example in which there is a hint of culture and “foreignness” in play is in the example “I am an Arab” (pages 47-49) in which Tommy declares himself an “araber” and then links this role to knowing exotic words like *demundisundi* and *khabahalæ*. But as this example also shows, the perception of “araber” among the children present seems more closely related to using swear words and other unconventional language in a situation where you are not supposed to than to any sort of claim of a concrete ethnic descent. The pragmatic behavior that is constituted by the (deliberate) use of swear words in a situation framed by school activities is on the other hand central to the general image of the indexical invocations and outcomes in the use of “araber” and “perker” that I have analyzed. Although the labels are used by different children, in different situations, and at different times there is a clear common tendency among them to use the labels as enregistered emblems of transgressive, inappropriate and unconventional social and linguistic behavior seen in relation to school (or other institutionalized) norms and expectations – as well as of course the fun that comes with engaging in these kinds of social and linguistic practices. The roles that they are used to designate relate to the practice of swearing and using other inappropriate words when engaging in school activities, not doing homework, having an indolent attitude (towards school), being young (and immature) and being a bully and thus not living up to the institutionalized expectations of treating everyone with respect. To make sense of and explain this foregrounded indexical discrepancy between the predominant understanding of “araber” and “perker” and the local one(s) presented in this study, I argue that we need to understand the children’s use as parts of an ongoing discursive development that in many ways links up well with the potential changes in the indexical field (Silverstein 2003, Eckert 2008) concerning the labels in focus.

As shown elsewhere (Nørreby 2012, 2016) ethnicity in Danish public discourse has for a long time been (and it continues to be) used as a key category that can explain various forms of social failure like for instance why some children perform poorly in the Danish school system or in other ways become a burden to the Danish society (see also Hussain, Yilmaz and O’Connor 1997, Yilmaz 2006, Rennison 2009, Rambøll 2010). Usually, this is done by journalists or politicians who draw up a causal relation between having a non-Danish background and not living up to the institutional normative standards and conventions of the Danish society. What I wish to imply here is that a potential explanation to the

indexical reconfigurations that are indicated by the children's use of the labels in focus, is that the diacritics of social and educational failure, that are constantly foregrounded when ethnicity is talked about and dealt with in public debates on schooling, are beginning to gain so much indexical ground that the ethno-cultural relations that traditionally and denotationally constitute an important diacritical aspect of labels like "araber" and "perker" are becoming less and less salient. The indexical outcomes of the children's use thus might be reflecting a wider societal tendency through which certain non-Danish identities have been talked about for so long as inherently linked to social and educational failure that the labels that designate these identities are becoming emblems of a societal low – a similar development to what we have seen happening to ways of speaking (Madsen 2013). We should of course also be aware of the fact that these children might later be socialized into the habit of emphasizing people's ethnic (and cultural) background as being indexical of "who they really are" and thus introduced to the traditional indexicalities of "araber" and "perker". However, should this be the case, we would still be dealing with important indexical reconfigurations seeing how the data presented in this study then would constitute examples of how Copenhagen children today seemingly learn about "araber's" and "perker's" indexical links to transgressive behavior and school failure *before* they learn about their link to ethnic belonging and ethno-cultural heritage. For now, there is no empirical evidence to suggest that the labels "araber" and "perker" to the participants of this study define roles related to ethno-cultural belonging; instead they seem to describe social roles indexically associated with a failure to comply with common institutionalized norms and expectations. And thereby the interactional examples also illustrate how public circulating discourses that link certain non-Danish ethnicities to being socially and educationally inept impacts the ways in which Copenhagen school children view and understand themselves and each other.

Article 2

Stylizations, stratification and social prestige

Introduction

The emergence of the contemporary urban vernacular (Rampton 2011) in Copenhagen, also referred to by users as *street language*, has been part of a significant sociolinguistic development in Denmark. As described by Madsen (2013, 2015), the construction, maintenance and development of this particular register (Agha 2005, 2007) has meant that linguistic signs and prosodic patterns that used to be associated with the Danish of immigrants and thus with ethnic minority/majority relations, have now become indexical tools for constructing, for instance, cool and tough youth identities and for social positioning on a scale of societal high and low. Furthermore, the meta-pragmatic image of this register as constituting *the language* of (a certain part of) ethnic minority Danes is being replaced by a general understanding in large parts of the Danish society of the register as a stylistic resource that is merely *part of* (a certain type of) young Copenhagener's linguistic repertoires, and that is thereby also used by speakers who have access to more academic and sophisticated ways of speaking (Madsen 2015: 133). In this study, I investigate stylized uses of prosodic and linguistic features that have been described as prevalent features of the register and their indexical meanings in two different school environments in contemporary Copenhagen. More specifically, I analyze two instances of linguistic performance in which a positively school-oriented girl from a public school and a boy from an upper-class elite private school respectively engage in creative language play that incorporate street language features and their associated indexical values and stereotypical personas. Although the performances are carried out in these two very different sociolinguistic environments (more on this below), I show how they in similar ways involve different aspects of ambiguity through which the participants highlight their access and thereby also their right to use features of the register while at the same time dis-associating themselves from its indexical values and stereotypical image of its users through what could be characterized as *vari-directional double voicing* (Bakhtin 1984: 194). The performances furthermore mirror how the contemporary urban vernacular "status" of street language is not at all a done deal by illustrating how the social reputation and indexical meanings of what has been described as prevalent features of this register, such as affricated and palatalized t-pronunciation, a strange accent, swearing, and poly-lingual languaging (see e.g. Madsen 2013, 2015, Stæhr 2014) are (still) objects of ongoing, conflictual

typification practices. Unlike prevalent understandings of street language as being an established way of speaking, my data indicate that the historical link to “learner Danish” (i.e. the Danish of immigrants) from which it emancipated in the first place, is still alive and kicking in the minds and social repertoires of contemporary youth. Apart from thereby constituting important snapshots of the ongoing enregisterment (Agha 2005, 2007) of widely recognized and frequently used linguistic features among contemporary (urban) Danish youth, I argue that the two performances reveal how the pupils in focus (at both schools) show awareness of the unequal dimensions of stratification in the sociolinguistic order of speech styles in contemporary Denmark. I illustrate how they exploit these structures for social positioning on scales of in vs. out, competent vs. incompetent and civilized vs. uncivilized and thereby reproduce ideological notions of social status differences of wider societal currency as a way of dealing with the social, linguistic and cultural diversity that is an integral part of their everyday life. Thereby my study aligns with Rampton’s (2006: 223) assertion that “systematic inequalities [...] do not disappear just because people stop talking about them in the ways that they used to” and supports the call for a (re)focus on institutional inequality in contemporary studies of urban youth’s practical activities and language use if we wish to advance our understanding of social inequalities in contemporary societies (Rampton 2010, 2011; Jaspers 2011, Madsen 2013, Collins 2015a).

The street language register

The emergence and development of the contemporary urban vernacular (Rampton 2011) in Copenhagen also known and referred to as *street language*, is well described (see e.g. Møller & Jørgensen 2012, Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014, Hyttel-Sørensen 2016). The data presented in this study involve features associated with the register. However, as we shall see, the interactional sequences in focus do not constitute examples of straightforward use of street language. Instead, they point to the indexical *valence* (Ochs 1996: 417-419, see also Rampton 2006: 303-305) of prevalent features of the register i.e. the features’ capacity for hinting at different indexical meanings by drawing on links between the use these features and negative identity attributes such as being laughable, incompetent and socially awkward. These indexical links stand in contrast with the meanings foregrounded in previously studied uses through which street language is linked to being cool, tough and street smart (see e.g. Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014) and they furthermore show how the earlier and more negative

identification of this way of speaking as “learner Danish”, and its related association to foreignness and linguistic incompetence still lingers as part of the interpretive frame in the heads of contemporary Copenhagen youth. Before outlining in detail the linguistic features in focus and their prevalent and thus conflictual indexical meanings, I first provide the reader with a brief account of the historical relation between street language and learner Danish.

Among the first to report on the emergence of an urban youth register in Denmark were Quist (2000) and Christensen (2003) who investigated the speech styles of urban, multiethnic youth in the two biggest cities of Denmark, Copenhagen and Aarhus respectively. The studies were informed by Kotsina’s (1988) groundbreaking work in Stockholm, Sweden on “Rinkebysvenska”. In many ways this work, which according to Jaspers (2016) constitutes a typical and not entirely unproblematic sociolinguistic move, transformed the lens through which the Swedish spoken in multiethnic and multicultural urban communities was viewed and understood by describing it as a *speech style* rather than a deficient version of “standard Swedish” which up until then had been the predominant perception of this way of speaking (Swedish). As shown by Quist (2000, 2005) and later Maegaard (2007), a similar sociolinguistic development to what had been observed in Stockholm was taking place in the urban areas of Copenhagen with various non-standard Danish prosodic, lexical and syntactical features and also pronunciations gaining prominence among Copenhagen adolescents. Through their ethnographic and variationist approaches to these linguistic changes, Quist (2005) and Maegaard (2007) showed how the use of these “new” linguistic features correlated with speakers’ affiliation to various social group identities related to, in particular, gender and ethnicity and argued that this correlation proved significant to Copenhagen’s ongoing sociolinguistic development.

More recently the Copenhagen contemporary urban vernacular (Rampton 2011) has been described as an integral part of the linguistic repertoire of (most members of) a pupil group of adolescents at another public school in Copenhagen (compared to where Maegaard and Quist conducted their studies). This was done as part of a collaborative research project that set out to follow two parallel classes from their 7th grade school year and up until their graduation investigating their everyday language use and social relations in- and outside the school (for more see Madsen et. al. 2016). As part of the ethnographic effort, the pupils were interviewed and it was during these interviews that the label

street language first came up as the name for a certain way of speaking. The register was described by the pupils as a part of their everyday linguistic repertoires and it drew clear parallels to the previously described language changes in Copenhagen by involving many of the same linguistic features. The register was also described in essays that Møller & Jørgensen (2012) had the pupils write about their everyday language use and in these essays the pupils described street language as “[...] the unmarked choice [of language] among friends” (Møller & Jørgensen 2012: 8). The pupils also outlined how this way of speaking was characterized by for instance the use of swear- and slang words and expressions, a non-standard prosody (referred to as “a strange accent”) as well as the mixing of linguistic features associated with different languages i.e. what Jørgensen (2008) and Møller (2009) had previously described as *poly-language* practices. In both the essays and in the interviews, the pupils furthermore revealed and elaborated on a locally constructed meta-pragmatic system in which street language which was reserved for peer interaction stood in contrast to another register termed “integrated” which was then described as a register to use when speaking to teachers and other adult authoritative figures and also older family members as a sign of common courtesy and respect. In conclusion, Møller & Jørgensen (2012: 10) describe these ways of speaking as registers that “[...] function as the extremes in a stylistic continuum covered by the students, and [...]” that “[...] the students [...] use these extremes to position themselves somewhere in between”. Thus the street language register was not perceived by the adolescents to be a general way of speaking, but merely a stylistic means for constructing particular popular identities associated with being tough, cool and “street smart”.

In many ways, this observation was remarkable in the sense that it showed how Copenhagen adolescents were actively re-analyzing (Agha 2007) communicative resources that had traditionally been associated with “learner Danish” i.e. the language or the Danish of non-Danish immigrants and which Quist (2000, 2005) and Maegaard (2007) had described as variations of Danish linked to ethnic and gendered identities, to make them part of a *language style* of contemporary urban youth. Madsen (2013) delivers an even more detailed description of this sociolinguistic change by looking into the concrete linguistic features/performable signs and stereotypical indexical values of the street language register (and also “integrated”) as well as the meta-pragmatic framework as it is presented by the Copenhagen adolescents in their essays and in the ethnographic interviews. Madsen’s (2013) study is informed by Agha’s (2005, 2007) concept of enregisterment and Silverstein’s (1985) framework of

indexical order which means that she frames the use of the register not as *reflecting* general affiliation with ethnic and gendered identities but as an interactional means for situational positionings and alignments “[...] mediated by the fact of cultural ideology” (Silverstein 1985: 222). So in contrast to the work presented by Quist (2005) and Maegaard (2007), Madsen (2013) points out how these features are actively used to do social work that goes beyond flagging a gendered or ethnic identity. Below is Madsen’s (2013: 133) list of emblematic performable signs of the street language register as well as its prevalent stereotypical indexical values as they were presented by the adolescents:

Performable signs

- Slang features
- Swearing
- An affricated and palatalized t-pronunciation
- Polylingual practices
- A strange accent (referring to the use of a non-standard Danish prosodic pattern)
- Linguistic creativity

Indexical values

- Toughness
- Masculinity
- Youth
- Pan-ethnic minority “street” culture
- Academic non-prestige

When looking at the linguistic features of the list, there are signs that point to the historical link between the street language register and “learner Danish” like for instance the use of non-standard prosodic patterns, non-Danish words and expressions and finally a non-standard Danish /t/ pronunciation (a pronunciation that resembles a standard Turkish /t/ pronunciation and which is described by one of the participants as a pronunciation that one pupil uses because “she is from Turkey”). These are all features that potentially could invoke an auditory image of the Danish spoken by a so-called “non-native speaker” in the process of acquiring Danish. However, to these Copenhagen adolescents the prevalent indexical meanings associated with the use of these features seem to be more related to being tough, cool, street smart and creative than being foreign or linguistically non-fluent or incompetent. The study furthermore underlines what Møller & Jørgensen (2012) also argued, namely that the register is perceived and used by the adolescents as a stylistic resource that is merely one part of their overall linguistic repertoires of speech styles and which they can turn up and down or on and off depending on the social situation at hand as well as the interlocutors involved. On the basis of her

observations, Madsen (2013: 135) points to an ongoing sociolinguistic development (or “transformation” as she terms it) in Denmark in which “[...] linguistic signs that used to be seen as related to migration, on an insider/outsider dimension of comparison, are now related to status on a high/low dimension as well”. Bearing in mind the theoretical framework of Madsen’s (2013) study, we should understand this development as intrinsically ongoing which thereby also means that the “new” indexical meanings that have emerged do not necessarily erase the old ones (as my data suggests the links to migration are actually still quite salient). Subsequently the use of street language features has also been found on social media in young Copenhageners’ Facebook interactions in which they draw on lexical street language features and come up with various creative orthographic representations of certain pronunciations associated with the register (for more see Stæhr 2014). Finally, there has been a form of institutionalizing movement within popular culture related to both Danish hip hop (Stæhr & Madsen 2017) and satirical television (Hyttel-Sørensen 2016) that has contributed to putting street language (or ghetto language as it is also frequently named) on the agenda in the public sphere and thus widened the meta-pragmatic lens of the common Dane by extending the knowledge of this urban speech style.

So from when the first studies of this emerging urban register were conducted up until now, the sociolinguistic image of Denmark has indeed changed. The street language register has developed from being an urban phenomenon observed in different communities of adolescents in the two biggest cities of Denmark to being a well-established style of speech that most Danes today will be familiar with. However, despite the above mentioned studies that show how local understandings of the register’s meta-pragmatic framework seem to be primarily related to binary values on a scale of societal high and low, there is still a tendency within public discourse, which for instance is reflected in the above mentioned satirical television show, to depict the stereotypical user of the register as an immigrant with violent and criminal tendencies. Such examples from public discourse go to show how the linguistic features at issue here have conflicting reputations and as mentioned above the scope of this indexical *valence* plays an important part in the interactional examples presented in this study. The examples first and foremost confirm the features’ potential for functioning as important meta-pragmatic resources among contemporary youth for positioning oneself (and others) on a scale of high vs. low social status. Secondly they reaffirm the features’ historical relation to “learner Danish” by

illustrating how this link remains available as an interpretive resource, and finally the examples point to the spread of (features of) the register by involving an example of its use in an environment in which it has not been observed before. The fact that we are dealing with stylizations furthermore opens up for using an analytical lens that not only views the linguistic performances as micro-level situated language acts but also as secondary representations of the register. Thereby the data also reveal insights into the meta-pragmatic reflections of the respective speakers who engage in the performances and to some extent also their audiences'. In what follows, I explain in detail what makes this possible by providing the reader with a theoretical explanation of what I mean by *stylizations*.

Stylization practices

When engaging in staged comedy performance, a common and also effective tool to make use of is the indexical link between certain ways of speaking and certain stereotypical images of their common user i.e. parodying the speech indexical of certain social stereotypes. Within the framework of interactional sociolinguistics, this meta-pragmatic practice of using *an artistic image of another person's voice* (Bakhtin 1981: 362) is termed *stylization*. The reason why stylization practices constitute effective performance tools is that they allow for the performer to make implicit social commentary that draws on recognizable elements from the broader society on more than one level. Apart from having immediate social effect as situated practices, stylizations also work on a meta-level as pieces of secondary representations that encourage the audience to "use their broader understanding of society to figure out exactly what 'image of another's language' the performance is actually supposed to be" (Rampton 2006: 225). In this way, stylizations can be said to (at least in order to be successful) build on a shared understanding of linguistic signs, pronunciation patterns and indexical values between the speaker(s) and the recipient(s) in moments of heightened sociolinguistic reflexivity. Thus if a stylization is successful i.e. if it is well received and not in need of any (further) explanations in order to make sense to the recipient(s), it means that the indexical links that are being foregrounded can be assumed to be rather well-known and well-established in the environment in which the stylization takes place. It follows from this that both the practice itself and its reception can say a lot about speech styles and their ongoing enregisterment (Agha 2005, 2007) and at the same time it can reveal interesting insights into local ideological perceptions of what is routine or artificial and what is acceptable or strange (Jaspers 2010: 194). So by studying stylization practices, we can learn more

about how different speech styles become associated with certain values and ways of being, how these links can be used for situational purposes, and perhaps most importantly how these practices mirror broader aspects of society.

On the basis of this theoretical framework, I include in my analyses a focus on three levels of linguistic production (see also Rampton 2006):

- Firstly the concrete micro-level linguistic production. Here I will look for linguistic and prosodic features that indicate that this is to be understood as stylized street language or stylized “learner Danish” and then I will attempt to describe the purposes and social outcomes of the productions.
- Secondly I will look at the secondary representations of linguistic styles that are being pointed to through the stylizations. Here I will look at what alignments and dis-alignments the speakers (and if possible also the recipients) display towards the linguistic resources/the speech styles that are being highlighted as well as their related indexical values as they are invoked through the performances.
- Thirdly and finally I will discuss how these observations of language use, activities and value ascriptions relate to broader representations of street language and “learner Danish” in the wider public sphere and also to ideologies of social status differences and sociolinguistic stratification in the wider society.

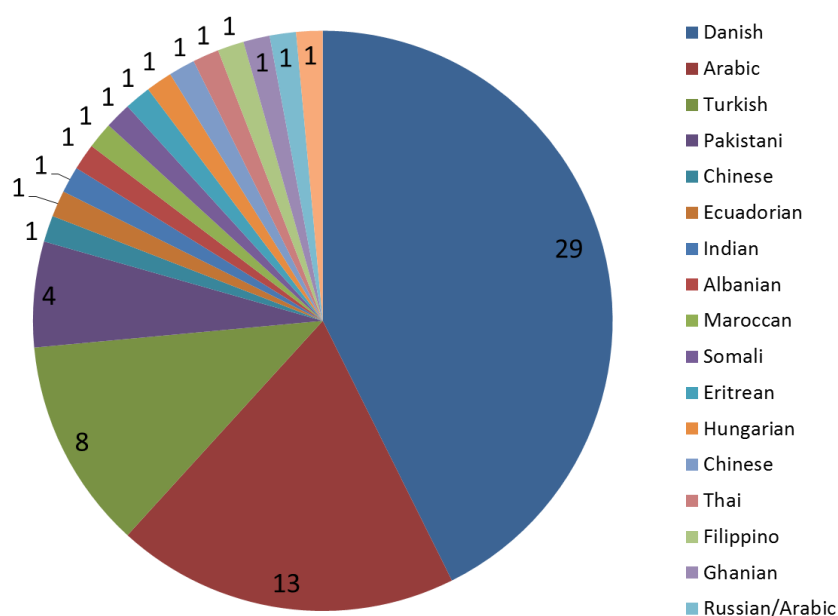
Before moving on to the analyses, though, I first provide the reader with a more detailed description of the study’s ethnography.

The public school

The data presented stem from two different periods of ethnographic field work carried out at two different elementary schools in Copenhagen. The one school can be described as an average Copenhagen public school. It is located in an area that used to be a rather homogeneous working class

area but which has now developed, in accordance with the rest of the Copenhagen, into an area characterized by a pronounced demographic diversity (see also Madsen et. al. 2016). Although the area code of 2300 Copenhagen South covers the entire district which is in fact a small island in itself, the area can be (and is often) unofficially divided into two parts: Amager West and Amager East. Amager West is the young, vibrant and modern part with a socio-economic status and profile that trumps the average Copenhagen one. All real estate in Amager West is rather expensive as compared to other more common parts of Copenhagen and seeing how the area is also fairly new and filled with buildings that have been built within the last 5-15 years, the area is also generally associated with modern (Nordic) architecture. As a result, the inhabitants of this part of Copenhagen South are mostly people people who belong to Copenhagen's "upper class". Amager East then is the historically more common part which separates itself from the Western part by being ethno-culturally and socio-economically more in line with the common profile of Copenhagen (although the Copenhagen of today holds quite a few expensive and posh neighbourhoods). Most of Amager East consists of buildings that were built 50 or more years ago and therefore it is generally also cheaper to live here compared to Amager West. Furthermore, there are several areas at Amager East that are based on low-cost housing. The public school, in which one of the stylization performances is carried out, is located at Amager East. The socio-economic profile of the school very much fits the profile of the surrounding area and in fact many of the pupils that are present in the situation that is analysed, including the girl who is performing, live in the low-cost housing buildings mentioned above. The parents of the pupils have "lower middle class jobs" such as school- and kindergarten teachers, taxi drivers, nurses, carpenters, police officers etc. The ethno-cultural profile of the school is likewise very representative of both Amager in general and the city of Copenhagen. In the three classes that are present during the performance, the pupils come from a wide range of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds as illustrated in the table below:

National backgrounds of the pupils (The public school)



Being a public school means that the official language of the school is Danish. It also means that the teaching and the school curriculum is highly influenced by the predominant language ideology which positions standard Danish as the overriding means for achieving educational and professional success (e.g. Karrebæk 2013, Møller 2015, Stæhr & Madsen 2017). The pupils in focus here attend the third grade, and on this level the only non-Danish national language register that is ever welcomed into the classroom is English, and this is only when the class schedule reads “English”. This means that 36 linguistic backgrounds are being left out of all school activities and thereby being preserved for either peer-to-peer interaction in the breaks or for family interaction in the pupils’ respective homes (Ag & Jørgensen 2013). Since most of the pupils have at least one Danish speaking parent and most of them were born and raised in Denmark (and maybe the dominant language ideological aspect of the school also plays a part here as well as of course the pupils’ own desire to invest in Danish themselves), Danish is the language that the pupils use the most. As shown elsewhere (Nørreby forthcoming a), (some of) the pupils occasionally engage in linguistic practices revolving around the street language register. However, these practices seem reserved for peer interaction in situations where the absence of adults (or other authoritative figures) presents the children with rare opportunities for abandoning the

social framework of school related activities. As we shall see, though, if one is sufficiently creative there are ways of bringing street language into the class room even when the teachers are still there.

I conducted the field work at this school partly as a member of a collaborative research project and partly as an independent field worker engaging in an individual project following three parallel classes intensely for two years between 2013 and 2015. The data in focus in this study stem from 2014 in which the pupils were 9-10 years old attending the third grade.

The private school

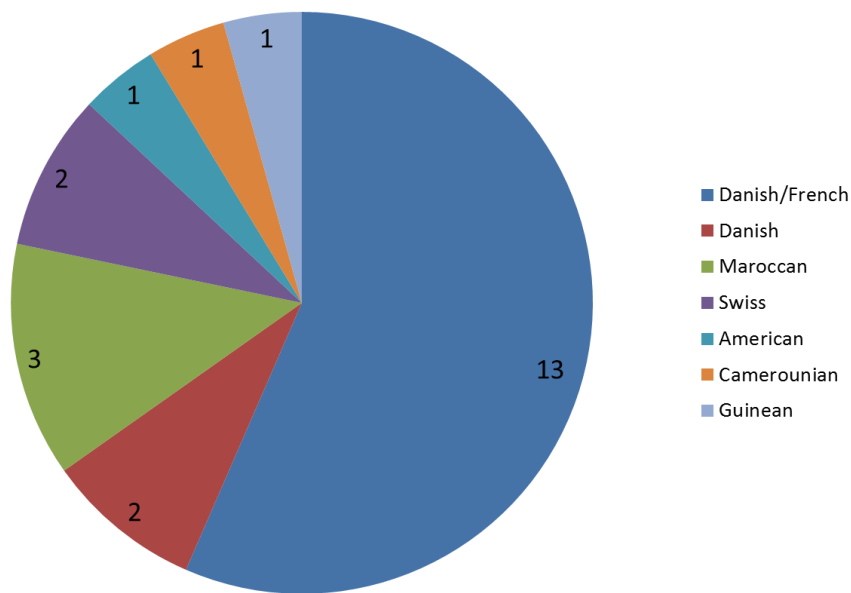
In a number of ways, the private school that constitutes the other ethnographic site in this study differs significantly from the public school. The school is a French/Danish private school and it is located in the city of Frederiksberg on one of Denmark's most expensive addresses. Frederiksberg is officially a municipality located in the center of Copenhagen but to most people living in the city, Frederiksberg is considered part of Copenhagen. The area around the school, which according to Copenhagen's official tourist guide is labeled by the Copenhageners as "The Paris of Copenhagen" (www.visitcopenhagen.dk), is primarily known for its expensive addresses and its vibrant, cool and "French" atmosphere. Right across from the school is one of the most popular wine bars in Copenhagen and its two neighbors are a French café and a luxurious chocolate store. These modern, fancy and (to some extent at least) French surroundings fit well with the school population. Apart from having the obvious French touch, there are also a lot of pupils at the school who come from wealthy, upper class homes and have parents who work as pilots, scientists, directors, bankers, engineers, politicians, photographers, chefs at high end restaurants etc. Being at the school you cannot help but notice the pupils' socio-economic background of privilege like for instance when some of the boys from the class go out to buy lunch in their lunch breaks (a practice that is common for some of the pupils) and come back with a baguette from the popular nearby store "Le Gourmand" with stuffed duck breast and foie gras or when one pupil spontaneously will buy three bags of chips or a huge bag of candy (which happened several times during our period of field work) to share with the rest of the class. The pupils' socioeconomic background of privilege also became evident in relation to a certain homework assignment in English where the pupils were asked to draw a sketch of their home from which we learned that Sebastian for instance lives in a mansion north of Copenhagen in one of the

wealthiest areas of the entire country. So even though some of the pupils do not live at Frederiksberg, their socioeconomic background still resembles the profile of the area in which the school is located.

The official language of the school is French which means that all lessons that are not language lessons of English, Spanish, Danish, etc. are taught in French. As a private French/Danish school, it is driven partly within the framework of the Danish Ministry of Education and partly within the framework of the Agency for French Education Abroad. It thereby provides its pupils with the possibility of taking a French-Danish “Baccalauréat” which, as the school proudly states on its website, ““qualifies the pupils for advanced education [...] everywhere in the world” (my translation). So whereas the public school is very much anchored in Danish relations when it comes to language ideologies and preparing the pupils for life after elementary school, the private school has a much more international profile. I have conducted field work at this school together with a colleague and as we quickly learned when first setting foot in the school, the international profile is not just a branding perspective or something that is merely evident in the curriculum; it is also physically constituted through different types of pupil-made artifacts that grace the hallways and classrooms all over the school. The international touch is furthermore supported by the linguistic environment with both French and Danish being used among the pupils whenever they are not in class. By not being subjected to the same political thrust as Danish public schools, the school can act more freely when it comes to the construction and implementation of its language policy, although it is of course still obliged to let Danish language feature as a significant part of the curriculum in accordance with the school’s legal status. As a result, the predominant standard Danish language ideology that generally shapes what goes on in terms of curricular activities in the public school is not to be found at the private school. However, this does not mean that the school has a more liberal approach to the pupil’s language use.

At this school, my colleague and I followed one class through a period of two years. In this class, all the pupils have at least one Danish-speaking parent (which is actually quite rare at this school) although they have many different national (family) backgrounds as we can see from this table:

National backgrounds of the pupils (The private school)



As we learned through our field work, the fact that all of the pupils have at least one Danish speaking parent means that almost all of them, despite the fact that they attend a French school, consider Danish to be the language they use the most. So even though the two schools in focus are substantially different, there is a parallel between the informal linguistic practices of the pupils at both schools. Instances of innovative or frequent poly-languaging at the private school however, were rare compared to what we have observed at the public school. Furthermore, the way it was used (and the example in this study will confirm this ethnographic observation) was mostly for fun and thus not with the sincere investment that we have seen among pupils at the public school. The field work that my colleague and I conducted at this school started in the beginning of 2015 and was completed in the summer of 2016 and the data presented in this study stem from a day in the spring of 2016 with pupils from two 6ième classes (corresponding to the fourth grade in the Danish public system) involved.

So whereas the public school 1) represents a sociolinguistic environment in which the street language register has been shown to be an integral part of the linguistic repertoire of its pupils (Møller & Jørgensen 2012, Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014) and 2) has a socioeconomic profile that in many ways fits

the register's indexical link to lower social strata, the private elite school represents a quite different context. It has a socio-economic status with which street language is not traditionally associated; in fact Madsen (2013: 127) shows how the indexical values of street language in many ways directly contrast with higher social class relations. It also represents a *type* of environment in which the use of street language features has not been observed before. These sociolinguistic circumstances of the two schools are in many ways important to this study. First of all because of the important role that institutional responses to linguistic diversity play in constructing links between linguistic repertoires, social hierarchies and prestige and secondly because we have learned from studies like Jaspers' (2014) and Collins' (2015b) that the symbolic organization of different language use in and around educational practices to a large extent reproduces wider patterns of social stratification. The stylization performances in focus here furthermore illustrate how these dynamics of stratification in contemporary Denmark have an impact on the ways in which these Copenhagen children operationalize their linguistic repertoires to engage with and position themselves in the immediate local social world and also in relation to the unequal institutional and societal structures that are surrounding them. In the next section, I turn to the analyses starting with Selda's performance at the public school.

Selda the magician

The following linguistic performance occurred in March 2014 on a day of celebration at the public school where the three parallel classes came together for a "show" that was organized by the teachers as part of a common initiative across the three classes. On this particular day some of the pupils from one of the three classes who had voluntarily signed up for it, were set to perform different "acts" in front of their class mates as well as the two other third grade classes. The initiative demanded that the pupils who wished to perform had to come up with an idea for an act, write the act and perform the act themselves. As a result it was not everyone who did perform and the types of acts, their themes (and also the quality) varied greatly. On this day there were a total of five acts. Three girls had prepared a small theatre sketch where one girl was arguing with her parents about homework while two other girls sang a song they had written about being best friends. One boy had prepared a riddle for the audience to solve while another boy had written a fable. The fifth performer whose act we shall focus on below was Selda who had prepared a magic trick.

Selda was born in Denmark by parents who were both born in Turkey. In March 2014 she was 10 years old and attending the third grade at the public school at Amager and she also attended private Turkish mother tongue classes after school hours. From my ethnographic experience I know Selda to be one of the more ambitious and well-behaved pupils in her class. She always participated in the class room discussions and during my time of field work I never witnessed her not having done her homework, which was not exactly the norm among her class mates. It was not particularly rare for Selda to draw on her Turkish family background in teaching situations whenever she found it relevant, such as when she explained to the teacher that she knows what “curlers” are because she had seen it in a show on Turkish television (Field note TRN 17.09.14). Although such an example shows how Selda was not reluctant to use her Turkish family background as a resource in her social everyday life, I never witnessed Selda using Turkish language in school situations (according to Selda herself she only attended the mother tongue classes because her parents said that she had to). So there seemed to be some ambiguity in relation to which areas of her Turkish background she considered to be valuable resources and which she deemed were not, and as we shall see her performance as a magician from Turkey only added to this image.

Because of the show, the tables of the classroom had been moved to form a horse shoe shape with the stage being the floor in the middle. The pupils who were the audience were then allowed to sit on the tables during the performances. This created a casual and also very theatre-like atmosphere by having all the pupils face the stage as well as surrounding it. During all five acts the audience was very focused on what was going on and they were also very generous with their applause. There is no question though that Selda stole the show with her performance as a magician from Turkey whose act was (supposed to be) weaving two books together so that they would become inseparable. As we shall though, it was not her “magic” that did the trick (the stylization features in focus are underlined in the original version).

I came from Tjurkey

Selda (Sel), Rune (Run), Audience (aud), Kate (Kat), Un-identified pupil (Pup)

01 Run: den næste er Selda der skal 02 vise os en tryllekunst	Run: the next one is Selda who will show us a magic trick
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<p>03 Aud: ((klapper))</p> <p>04 Sel: ui jeg kom fra <u>Tjyrkiet</u>↑</p> <p>05 ((sætter sig ned på stolen))</p> <p>06 de:t må jeg lige sige <u>tje</u> jer↑</p> <p>07 ((tager sin rygsæk ned))</p> <p>08 og nu skal jeg vise jer</p> <p>09 en <u>tjryllekunst</u></p> <p>10 ((begynder at tage ting ud</p> <p>11 af rygsækken))</p> <p>12 nej det er ik <u>den</u></p> <p>13 ((tager flere ting ud))</p> <p>14 <u>slet</u> ik <u>den</u> [pron: dan]</p> <p>15 ((endnu flere ting))</p> <p>16 <u>sLet</u> [pron: slad] ik</p> <p>17 <u>nattjøj</u> (!)</p> <p>18 Aud: ((griner))</p> <p>19 Sel: mine bøger</p> <p>20 ((stiller rygsækken ned))</p> <p>21 det er godt (.)</p> <p>22 nu skal vi lige lægge dem</p> <p>23 herhen ej jeg gider ik</p> <p>24 rydde op</p> <p>25 ((smider tingene ind</p> <p>26 under bordet))</p> <p>27 sådan der (1.0)</p>	<p>Aud: ((applause))</p> <p>Sel: ui I came from Tjurkey↑</p> <p>((sits down on the chair))</p> <p>th:at I have to tjell you↑</p> <p>((puts down her backpack))</p> <p>and now I will show you</p> <p>a magic tjrick</p> <p>((starts taking stuff out</p> <p>of the back pack))</p> <p>no that is not it</p> <p>((takes out more stuff))</p> <p>not at all that</p> <p>((even more stuff))</p> <p>not at all</p> <p>sleepwear (!)</p> <p>Aud: ((laughs))</p> <p>Sel: my books</p> <p>((puts down the backpack))</p> <p>that's good</p> <p>now just put them over</p> <p>here no I don't want to</p> <p>clean up</p> <p>((throws the stuff under</p> <p>the table))</p> <p>there we go (1.0)</p>
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As Rune indicates when he introduces Selda, the act is supposed to be Selda doing a magic trick (lines 1-2). During rehearsals a couple of hours earlier which I witnessed, this was also what Selda did. However, for some reason (which might be the rather underwhelming reception she got from the audience during rehearsals) Selda at some point between rehearsals and the actual show had decided to add a spin to her performance by creating a persona from Turkey and then do the magic trick *as* this

person. Interestingly, Selda had not decided to change anything regarding her physical appearance so apart from letting the audience know explicitly (lines 4-6) that she was a magician from Turkey, her role was primarily anchored in the voice she used i.e. her linguistic style. The style is best described as a stylization of “Danish spoken with a Turkish accent mixed with street language” and right from the start of her performance, we see some examples of the micro-level linguistic and prosodic features that she uses in order to indexically invoke this way of speaking and thereby to construct herself as a magician with a Turkish (linguistic) background. The first noticeable feature is her /t/ pronunciation in the word “Tyrkiet” (eng: Turkey) (line 4). According to standard Danish norms (and also according to how Selda routinely speaks), you would expect in this word a dental pronunciation that very much resembles the way of pronouncing a /t/ in standard English. Selda here uses an affricated and palatalized pronunciation which makes it sound like /tj/. This pronunciation actually resembles a standard Turkish pronunciation of the letter /t/ and so it fits very well with her construction of her magician as Turkish. Selda uses this /t/ pronunciation throughout her entire performance which makes it stand out as one of the most prevalent features in her stylization. What is furthermore interesting about this /t/ pronunciation is that it also has indexical links to the street language register and although these links do not seem to be activated in this particular sequence, the use of the /t/ pronunciation still opens up for a potential flirt with a stereotypical image of being a young, urban and cool Copenhagener which obviously completely contrasts with the image of the dumb, older and highly uncool magician.

In her pronunciation of “Tyrkiet”, Selda also deviates from Danish standard norms by pronouncing the final /t/ (in standard Danish this would become a “soft” /d/ sound). Apart from this, she uses non-standard pronunciations of “slet” in “slet ikke” (not at all) in which she pronounces the /l/ as an English “light /l/” and changes the character of the /e/ so that it almost becomes an /æ/. Both the /l/ and the /e/ pronunciations differ remarkably from standard Danish and they clearly indicate that Selda is using a stylized voice rather than her own. Finally, there are also some prosodic features that stand out in this excerpt as part of Selda’s stylization such as the exaggerated and deviant prosody with remarkably strong final raise in some of her utterances (lines 4 and 6). Based on these notable features, Selda quickly establishes her role as a magician from Turkey by using a stylized voice that incorporates speaking Danish with a Turkish accent and using prevalent features of “learner Danish”

and street language; although it has been argued that the /tj/ pronunciation is losing its prominence as a street language feature (Stæhr & Madsen 2017). She also incorporates an aspect of what could be described as classical slap stick humour to her show by performing a series of more or less goofy acts like pulling out all sorts of irrelevant (to the magic trick) props from her backpack which signal to the audience that the magician is (supposed to be) incompetent and laughable. There might also be a play here on a wider circulating discourse with Selda's accented Danish working as another layer of incompetence. Perceiving Danish with an accent as a marker of linguistic incompetence is not uncommon among the Danish population, although it has been showed that the accent usually has to be accompanied by a slow and hesitant speech tempo (Kirilova 2006). So in this way both Selda's non-linguistic and linguistic actions go together to form the image of her incompetent magician from Turkey.

After having made it clear to the audience that she is indeed performing a role, Selda now plunges into her magic trick.

28	skal jeg vise jer noget†	do you want to see something†
29	((fletter bøgerne sammen))	((weaves the books together))
30	det går lidt lang <u>tjid</u> † (1.0)	it takes some time† (1.0)
31	men I dør ik af at vente	but waiting will not kill you
32 Aud:	((griner))	Aud: ((laughs))
33 Sel:	((fletter bøgerne sammen))	Sel: ((weaves the books together))
34	nu skal jeg have en <u>tje</u>	now I need someone tjo
35	at få den her ud† (1.0)	get this out† (1.0)
36	ik jer ((siger det til	not you ((says this to her
37	U'erne)) (3.0)	classmates)) (3.0)
38	dig der me:d <u>Mickey</u> Mouse	you there wi:th Mickey Mouse
39	((Kate fra parallel-	((Kate from the parallel
40	klassen kommer op til Selda))	class comes up to Selda))
41	<u>vent</u> <u>vent</u> [pron: vant] (.)	wait wait (.)
42	du må kun s- hive den en gang	you can only s- pull once

43	du må ik ryste den†	you cannot shake it†
44	ellers så dræber jeg dig	or else I will kill you
45 Aud:	((griner))	Aud: ((laughs))
46 Sel:	ik sådan	Sel: not like that
47 Aud:	((griner))	Aud: ((laughs))
48 Sel:	sådan der så har du	Sel: like that then you have
49 Kat:	ha det er fordi det xxx	Kat: ha it is because it xxx
50	((får bøgerne skilt ad))	((disassembles the books))
51 Sel:	nej vent lige hun har gjort	Sel: no wait a minute she has done
52	noget gå jeg prøver lige	something go away I will do
53	en gang <u>tje</u>	it one more tjime
54	((fletter bøgerne sammen))	((weaves the books together))
55 Aud:	((klapper))	Aud: ((applauds Selda))
56 Sel:	jeg var nød <u>tje</u> at prøve en	Sel: I had to tjry one more
57	gang <u>tje</u> fordi hun var	tjime because she was
58	lidt <u>dum†</u>	kind of stupid†
59 Aud:	((griner))	Aud: ((laughs))
60 Sel:	så:dan der (.)	Sel: the:re we go (.)
61	jeg <u>tjager</u> ik no:gen	I won't tjake a:nyone
62	med Mickey Mouse	with Mickey Mouse
63 Aud:	((griner))	Aud: ((laughs))
64 Pup:	xxx det er Minnie Mouse	Pup: xxx it's Minnie Mouse
65	((snakken og mumlen))	((talk and mumbling))

The fact that Kate is able to separate the books without any difficulty (line 50) speaks to the rather poor quality of Selda's magic act itself and maybe also emphasizes how the main purpose of the show is to make the audience laugh and not to amaze them with tricks. That this sits well with the audience is illustrated by the several occasions of audience laughter (lines 32, 45, 47, 59 & 63) that underline how the overall entertainment value of her performance is clearly not suffering from her failure to make the magic trick work. In fact, one could argue that it works in Selda's favor by underlining the aspect of the magician that the audience seems to enjoy the most, namely her flagged incompetence.

Linguistically, Selda continues to make heavy use of the significant /t/ pronunciation in her stylized voice and she also incorporates a non-standard pronunciation of “vent” (wait) with a remarkable lack of *stød* (a unique “Danish” pronunciation feature referred to in English as “glottal stop”) which you would otherwise expect in standard Danish. She combines this with a change in the vowel sound to make it sound like an /a/ drawing parallels to her pronunciation of “slet” in the previous excerpt. Finally she pronounces the medial /ck/ in “Mickey” as a /k/ where the standard Danish version would be an un-aspirated /g/ sound. That this /k/ pronunciation is part of her stylized voice is illustrated later in the excerpt when she uses the standard pronunciation in the same word in line 62.

Selda adds a nuance to her persona when she says to the audience “waiting will not kill you” (line 31) and then later threatens to kill Kate if she does not refrain from shaking the books (line 44) and finally declares Kate to be stupid in front of the entire audience (lines 57-58). As we can tell by the audience’s reactions, the aggressive and uncivilized behavior that is constituted by these outbreaks is not taken seriously. Instead, it seems to add to the depiction of the magician as lacking manners and professionalism and thereby also to the overall amateur quality of the magician’s performance (which most probably is in line with Selda’s intention). With these threats, Selda incorporates into her performance prevalent indexical values of the street language register such as toughness and aggressive behavior and as the reaction from the audience clearly signals, there is a shared understanding of these indexical invocations between Selda and her audience. What might furthermore spur on the audience’s laughter is that Selda through her performance manages to bring into the classroom a voice and a speech style that usually do not have any room or prominence in school (or any other academic) activities. She is able to do so because of the element of strategic inauthenticity (Coupland 2007) that is an integral part of stylizations and which thereby indicates clearly to the audience, including the teachers that are present, that this is not *her own* voice. So it is also likely that there is an element to the entertainment value that has to do with Selda bringing into the classroom linguistic and prosodic features and indexical values that in many ways signal the exact opposite of what the institutional structures that she finds herself in are built upon and which then just adds to the amusing image of her magician as a sort of a bull in a china shop. Furthermore, the social and linguistic behaviour of Selda’s magician is so unlike Selda’s “normal” behaviour which most likely also plays a part in the audience’s enjoyment.

After the failed session with Kate, Selda asks for another pupil to come up and try to separate the books.

66 Sel:	ø:h jeg vil gerne have	Sel:	e:h I would like you
67	dig med bonushår (2.0)		with the bonus hair (2.0)
68	<u>undskyld</u>		sorry
69	((Adam fra parallel-		((Adam from the parallel
70	klassen kommer op))		class comes up))
71	jeg kan ik finde ud af <u>dansk</u>		I do not know Danish
72	så: jeg <u>tjaler</u>		so: I tjalk a bit
73	lidt mærkeligt (1.0) du må		weird (1.0) you can
74	kun prøve det <u>en gang</u> (.)		only try once (.)
75	ellers så dræber jeg dig		or else I will kill you
76	ligesom hende der		like with her over there
77 Aud:	((griner))	Aud:	((laughs))
78 Sel:	<u>han der tj</u> a den <u>tj</u> a den	Sel:	he there tjake it tjake it
79	<u>tj</u> a den med <u>tj</u> o hænder		tjake it with tjwo hands
80 Aud:	xxx	Aud:	xxx
81	((griner))		((laughs))
82 Pup:	og så hiv i den	Pup:	and then pull on it
83 Sel:	sådan der så har du prøvet	Sel:	like that now you have
84	så har du prøvet		tried now you have tried
85 Aud:	((klapper))	Aud:	((applauds))
86 Sel:	nej <u>vent</u> <u>vent</u> <u>vent</u> <u>vent</u>	Sel:	no wait wait wait
87	vi skal lige vente (1.0)		we must wait (1.0)
88	så sætter vi den lige her		then we just put it here
89	og så venter vi		and then we wait
90	((sætter bøgerne ned))		((puts down the books))

I am not sure what Selda means by “bonus hair” (line 67) as this is not an expression I have encountered before. In a way, it also seems to catch Selda herself by surprise as evidenced by her next turn in which she explains this rather unconventional use of words with the fact that she talks “a bit weird” because she “does not know Danish” (line 71-73). By saying so Selda explicitly invokes an image of a language learner from Turkey and confirms that her magician is supposed to be laughed at not only for the poor magic act itself and the incorporated slapstick comedy elements but also for the way she speaks. After this remark, Selda presents her volunteer with yet another threat when she says that she will kill him if he tries more than once to separate the books and as we can see, her socially awkward and out of line behavior is yet again well received among the audience (lines 75-77). So once again she seems to add to the nuances of her performance by invoking an indexical connection to the street language register and its indexical values of toughness and unregulated emotional behaviour (Madsen 2013).

Regarding the linguistic and prosodic features, Selda uses in this excerpt the /tj/ pronunciation heavily and on several occasions she leaves out the glottal stop in words where you would expect it like for instance in “undskyld” (line 68), “dansk” (line 71) and “en gang” (line 74). This lack of glottal stop stands in contrast to her standard near pronunciation of “der” in “hende der” (her over there) (line 76) in which the glottal stop is present. She then adds a syntactical feature to her stylized voice by saying “han der” (he there) instead of “ham der” (him there) (line 76) which has also been described as a prevalent feature of the emerging Copenhagen youth register referred to by Quist (2000) as *multiethnolect* i.e. the Danish of immigrant youth.

After the magic trick is over, the magician calls her sister.

91 Sel:	jeg <u>ringer</u> [pron: rinGer]	Sel:	let me just call
92	lige <u>tje</u> min søster (1.0)		my sister (1.0)
93 Aud:	((griner))	Aud:	((laughs))
94 Sel:	hvorfor har du <u>tjaget</u>	Sel:	why did you tjake
95	<u>min</u> ø:h <u>legetjøj</u> med (1.0)		my e:h tjoy with you (1.0)
96	okay farvel har du		okay bye is it your

97	fødselsdag i dag↑	birthday today↑
98 Aud:	((griner))	Aud: ((laughs))
99 Sel:	okay jeg sender ba:re	Sel: okay I will just send you
100	e:n gulerod <u>tje</u> dig farvel	a: carrot bye
101 Aud:	((griner)) (1.0)	Aud: ((laughs)) (1.0)
102 Sel:	<u>så</u> :dan der (3.0)	Sel: the:re we go (3.0)
103	så <u>tj</u> ager jeg den her	then I tjake this I will
104	jeg tager den ud ik hende	take it out not that girl
105	der som dig der (1.0)	there like you who (1.0)
106	nej det mig der selv der skal	no it is me who has to
107	gøre det ik jer (1.0)	do it not you (1.0)
108	sådan der så gør vi	there we go then we go like
109	sådan her så får vi den	this then we are able to
110	lige ud	pull it out
111	((skiller bøgerne ad))	((disassembles the books))
112 Aud:	((klapper))	Aud: ((applauds))

This last part of the show, which (like in the case of her stylized voice) was not originally a part of Selda's performance, seemed to me to be something Selda initiated on the spot – probably as a response to her feeling momentum from all the laughs during her performance. To judge from her utterance in line 91 where she lets the audience know that she will ring her sister, Selda is in fact taking her stylized voice to the extreme. The pronunciation of “ringer” (call) is so exaggerated that it clearly signals Selda's intention of getting more laughs out of the audience. She pronounces the /r/ as an alveolar trill which is a far cry from the voiced, un-aspirated standard Danish version. She also pronounces the /g/ separately in the middle of the word which is just as unconventional. Her pronunciation draws clear parallels to speaking Danish with a thick “foreign” accent. It seems to be used here by Selda to highlight the incompetence (and maybe also ridiculousness) of her character which she then furthermore underlines by saying to her sister that she will send her a carrot for her birthday. So in her performance, Selda is primarily typifying the linguistic and prosodic features in focus as *foreign* or *deficient Danish* which thereby contrasts with the same features' typification as urban, cool and young that has been observed among other young Copenhageners. By doing so, Selda

invokes through her performance a more traditional indexical image of these features as being related to migration in a frame of out vs. in, but at the same time she reaffirms the indexicalities of low social status by depicting the magician as someone who is uncivilized and ill-behaved.

Next, I turn to the example from the private school which also involves stylizations of predominantly street language features.

Samuel the street smart young Copenhagener

The example is from April 2016 and it involves a boy from a 6ième class named Samuel, his class mate Yousef, as well as two of his peers from one of the two other 6ième classes at the school named Pascal and Alex. The situation plays out during a break where Samuel is sitting in the hallway with Guillaume from his class. At one point Samuel accidentally steps on Guillaume's foot to which Samuel reacts by very loudly declaring himself to be stupid and incorporating in his declaration prevalent features of the street language register in a remarkably exaggerated way. Apart from seemingly frightening Guillaume with his in many ways excessive (in terms of volume) and significant (in terms of speech style) reaction, Samuel's utterance also reaches Pascal and Alex who seem to interpret his outburst as an invitation to engage in ritual insults (Labov 1972: 297) and more stylistic play on the street language register. The three boys then plunge into a loud and (to them) entertaining stylization play on the street language register and its indexicalities, with Yousef from Samuel's class also taking part in support of Samuel. As already mentioned, I rarely had first-hand experiences during my time of field work with any of the pupils using the linguistic practices that are in play in this excerpt. It did occur at different times both in- and outside the class room, however usually the examples would only include one or two phrases and be uttered with faint voices due to potential sanctions from the teacher(s). Characteristically, the recording from which the interaction below stems was done as a self-recording and thus without the presence of any adults. Knowing how the general classroom culture and strict discipline usually dictate what goes on both in- and outside the classrooms at the private school, the fact that there are no potential authoritative figures present is more or less a prerequisite for what is going on seeing how it goes on for several minutes and also how there are no faint voices involved.

Samuel was born in Denmark but has a Moroccan family background. At the time of the recording he was 10 years old living in Copenhagen together with his mother who was born and raised in Morocco and his younger brother (he does not live with his father and he does not know where his father grew up). Their apartment was located in Copenhagen South West which is an area that is generally associated with a lower socio-economic status than the area in which the school is located.

Furthermore, Samuel grew up in Ishøj which is a suburb to Copenhagen and which is generally associated with even lower social strata compared to Copenhagen South West. So in regard to his socio-economic family background, Samuel's profile did not straightforwardly resemble the general pupil profile of the private school. When in class, Samuel was (much like all his class mates) focused on doing well. He was ambitious and generally focused on showing this to his teachers whenever he got an opportunity to do so. Outside the class room, Samuel spent a lot of time together with three of his class mates with whom he also played football in the local football club. In one of our ethnographic interviews, Samuel was described by some of his classmates as being part of a group of "bad boys" who apart from being associated with playing football were described as "bad" because of their ability and inclination to "diss" and "get into trouble" as well as their reluctance to hang out with girls (which we know from our ethnographic experience was not entirely true). Despite the both vague and (very) short description of why these boys were "bad", the foregrounding of their inclination to "diss" and to get into trouble makes them appear in their local context quite similar to those who have been observed using the street language register elsewhere (although the term "street language" was never mentioned). The fact that we rarely heard Samuel use street language features or get into any kind of trouble during our 18 months of field work does not make it less interesting. However as the following excerpt illustrates, Samuel does in fact know prevalent features and values of this particular register. The excerpt starts right after Samuel has stepped on Guillaume (and once again the stylization features in focus are underlined in the original version).

Your mother is unpleasant

Samuel (Sam), Guillaume (Gui), Pascal (Pas), Alex (Ale), Yousef (You)

01 Sam:	tråde jeg på dig†	Sam:	did I stepped on you†
02 Gui:	øh ja (.) lidt	Gui:	eh yes (.) a little bit
03 Sam:	for helvede jeg er dum (!)	Sam:	god damn it I am stupid

04	JEG <u>SVÆRGER</u> [stemt /s/] (!)	(!)I <u>SWEAR</u> [voiced /s/]
05	det ikke var med vilje	(!)it was not on purpose
06 Gui:	nej nej	Gui: no no
07 Pas:	lad vær med at tro det	Pas: do not believe it
08	okay↑	okay↑
09	xxx	xxx
10 Ale:	fuck hvor er jeg træt af ham	Ale: fuck I am so sick of him
11 Sam:	skrid hjem <u>mand</u> [% stød]	Sam: go home man [% glottal stop]
12 Pas:	xxx din mor er	Pas: xxx your mom is
13	usympatisk	unpleasant
14 Sam:	lær at sige [stemt /s/]	Sam: learn to say [voiced /s/]
15	bandeord	swear words
16 Pas:	og din mor (.) din mor	Pas: and your mom (.) your mom
17 You:	se her hvad han siger	You: look here at what he says
18	xxx ((råben))	xxx ((shouting))
19 Sam:	jeg kommer efter dig din	Sam: I am coming for you you
20	lille lort mand	little shit man
21	[+ stød]	[+ glottal stop]
22 You:	xxx det (er) mig↑	You: xxx it's me↑
23	xxx ((mere råben))	xxx ((more shouting))
24 Pas:	ja din mor	Pas: yeah your mom
25 Sam:	er du døv eller hvad	Sam: are you deaf or what
26 Pas:	kom kom	Pas: come come
27 Sam:	kom (.) kom hvad	Sam: come (.) come what
28 Pas:	ham der han spiller smart	Pas: that guy he is acting up
29	((griner))	((laughs))
30 Sam:	eow jeg <u>sværger</u> [stemt /s/]	Sam: eow I swear [voiced /s/]
	KURD-DK: hey	KURD-ENG: hey
31	gå væk	go away

32 Pas: jeg ruller jer én efter én
 33 alle sammen
 34 You: han tror han er araber
 35 ((råben))
 36 han tror at han er araber
 37 Sam: ja mand gå hjem
 38 You: <ja mand gå hjem og sov
 39 mand tror du du er araber
 40 fucking hvad> <Pas: hvem
 41 er det (.) hvad taler du om
 42 dig>
 43 ((råben))
 44 Pas: **supris** mand (!)
 FRA-DK: Slettet
 45 Sam: xxx vennerne
 46 Pas: hold din kæft
 47 You: hvad↑
 48 Sam: gå hjem mand
 49 Pas: hold din kæft
 50 Sam: gå hjem
 51 Pas: hold din kæft
 52 Sam: gå hjem
 53 Pas: hold din kæft
 54 Sam: gå hjem
 55 Pas: hold din kæft
 56 Sam: gå hjem
 57 Pas: hold din kæft
 58 Sam: gå hjem (.) gå hjem
 59 ((Youseff og Pascal stiliserer

Pas: I will mess you up one by one
 all of you
 You: he thinks he is an Arab
 ((shouting))
 he thinks that he is an Arab
 Sam: yeah man go home
 You: <yeah man go home and sleep
 man do you think you are an
 Arab fucking what> <Pas:
 who is it (.) what are you
 talking about you>
 ((shouting))
 Pas: **supris** man (!)
 FRA-ENG: Erased
 Sam: xxx the guys
 Pas: shut up
 You: what↑
 Sam: go home man
 Pas: shut up
 Sam: go home
 Pas: shut up
 Sam: go home
 Pas: shut up
 Sam: go home
 Pas: shut up
 Sam: go home
 Pas: shut up
 Sam: go home (.) go home
 ((Youseff and Pascal stylize

60	en aggressiv arabisk accent))		an aggressive Arabic accent))
61 Sam:	eow jeg sværger [stemt /s/]		eow I swear [voiced /s/]
62	gå hjem		go home
63 Pas:	hold din kæft dig	Pas:	shut up you
64 Sam:	vi har ikke engang gjort	Sam:	we haven't even done
65	dig noget mand (!)		anything to you man (!)
66 Pas:	hold din kæft dig	Pas:	shut up you
67 Sam:	<u>eow</u>	Sam:	eow
68 Pas:	ho:ld din kæft (!)	Pas:	shu:t up (!)
69 Sam:	((griner))	Sam:	((laughs))
70 Pas:	hold din kæft ho:ld din kæft	Pas:	shut up shu:t up
71 Sam:	((griner))	Sam:	((laughs))

To judge from both Samuel's and Guillaume's reactions (lines 3-6) there is little doubt that Samuel did not step on Guillaume's toes on purpose. Also the loudness and self-targeted insult that constitutes Samuel's reaction, suggests that his intention, with his declaration that it was indeed an accident, is not as much to apologize to Guillaume as it is to catch the attention of a broader audience. The change of volume compared to his previous utterances is remarkable and also the change in prosody is striking. Samuel incorporates in his outburst features of the street language register such as the idiomatic expression "I swear" and the voiced /s/ which could easily be characterized as one of the most prevalent features of this speech style (see e.g. Pharaon et al. 2014, Stæhr 2014). Apart from standing out compared to how Samuel routinely talks, these linguistic features together with the high volume and change in prosody make his utterance sound like part of a stylistic performance rather than a sincere statement. Whereas Guillaume seems to misinterpret the outburst as Samuel putting too much into his mistake which is illustrated by his disarming "no no" (line 6), Pascal and Alex from the parallel class seem to recognize Samuel's outburst as a performance and therefore take it as an invitation to engage in an interactional play on street language features and ritual insults (Labov 1972). At first, Pascal tries to convince Guillaume that Samuel is lying about his innocence (lines 7-8) after which Alex exclaims "fuck I am so sick of him" in reference to Samuel (line 10). As explained by Madsen (2013: 133), swear words (like fuck) are associated with the street language register and so

when also weighing in the fact that “fuck” is generally very rare to hear at the private school (seeing how using it in the presence of a teacher most definitely would get you sent to the principal’s office), there are signals in Alex’ utterance that he also sees the situation as a stylization exercise on the street language register. Samuel reacts to Alex’ utterance by telling him to go home which then makes Pascal attempt a formulaic ‘your mother’-insult (lines 12-13). From the choice of “unpleasant” as the derogatory term it is quite clear though, that indulging in street language stylizations is not a habitual practice among these boys. By using the term “unpleasant”, Pascal fails to stay within the street language frame and as a result his attempt to sound cool and tough comes off as inauthentic and unconvincing. Samuel quickly recognizes this mismatch between Pascal’s choice of words and his intentions and he wisely uses the mismatch to position Pascal as the novice and himself as the (street language) expert by urging Pascal to learn how to swear (lines 14-15). Unfortunately for Pascal, he does not seem to be able to replace the “unpleasant” with a more indexically appropriate lexical feature so as a response he just repeats “your mother” hesitantly (line 16). Samuel then seizes the opportunity to cement his upper hand by calling Pascal “a little shit” and threatening to come after him (line 19-21) after which Pascal finally gains back some ground through the idiomatic expression “that guy he is acting up” (line 28).

Up to this point, there is not much in the interaction to suggest that this is not a serious altercation (although Samuel’s initial apology of course would fall under the category of unserious) between on the one side Samuel and Yousef and on the other Alex and Pascal that potentially could develop into more than just a war on words. However, the contextualization cue that is Pascal’s laughter following his utterance in line 26 tells a different story. With this cue, Pascal clearly signals that their interaction is not part of a serious conflict but merely jocular play. That his laughter causes no reaction from the others supports that this is not just Pascal’s interpretation of the situation but a common understanding among the boys. Fittingly after this interactional signal from Pascal, Samuel then *turns it up a notch* by raising his voice yet again and using both a characteristic lexical feature of the street language register (eow) and an emblematic pronunciation in his “sværger” (Eng: swear) with a clearly exaggerated voiced /s/ (line 30). Pascal then uses another slang feature “ruller jer” (mess you up”) in a threat towards Samuel and Yousef and interestingly, this utterance is interpreted by Yousef as an attempt by Pascal to inhabit the role of an “araber” (Arab) (lines 34-36). Yousef’s use of Araber here draws

parallels to the indexical work and interpretations carried out among school starters at the public school who also seem to perceive an Araber as someone who uses swear words (Karrebæk 2016, Nørreby forthcoming a). Apart from apparently being indexically linked to the use of swear words, it is obviously hard to say what exactly constitutes an Araber to Yousef; however judging from Samuel's next turn in which he invokes discourses of racism by telling Pascal to "go home" (line 37), it seems that he interprets Yousef's Araber remark as him pointing to the indexical valence of the features in play i.e. their potential for flagging both street smart and tough, urban identities and non-Danish ethnicities. Pascal then brings into play a French slang feature (*supris*) which he combines with the Danish "mand" (man) (line 44). In what follows which is best described as a linguistic rambling or idleness, the boys seem to have reached the limit of their stylization repertoires and so instead of coming up with more features, the two boys just repeat the same turns ("shut up" and "go home man") six times (lines 46-58). Then they start shouting incomprehensible gibberish at each other with the only recognizable feature being what sounds like an Arabic accent judging from their intonation patterns and exaggerated pronunciations of /t/ and /r/ (lines 59-60). Soon thereafter the interaction (not surprisingly) falls apart as the boys break into laughter. The laughter once again illustrates how the whole altercation was nothing serious but mainly about experimenting and having fun with a certain way of speaking and its related indexical values and social stereotypes, and of course the interaction also feeds into their peer relations by constituting a means for creating rapprochement and building (male) sociability.

Summing up the performances

Although the two performances take place in different environments and under different circumstances, they share a lot of similarities by both incorporating many of the same linguistic and prosodic features as well as indexical plays on the features' stereotypic users. If we compare Selma's performance to Madsen's (2013: 133) list, one might be tempted to jump to the conclusion that Selma stylizes street language when she uses an affricated and palatalized /t/-pronunciation together with a strange accent constituted by for instance her use of non-standard prosodic patterns. However, such a conclusion would indeed be premature seeing how Selda's stylized performance involves a lot more complexity and actually comes off as drawing more on the features' indexical links to "learner Danish" than their link to street language. By doing so she successfully invokes an image of a foreign

magician that is socially and linguistically inept and therefore funny. She does incorporate in her performance some of the values associated with the use of the street language register as well like for instance the toughness that she signals through her several verbal threats towards the audience. She also points explicitly to academic non-prestige (another prevalent indexical value associated with the street language register) when she claims that she “talks strangely” and “does not know Danish”. However, she incorporates these indexical meanings alongside the play on “learner-Danish” and the stereotypical association between the use of these features and (linguistic) incompetence. In this way, it is actually hard to tell at times which register she is stylizing because she uses features that occur in both socially typified ways. This means that there is a general ambiguity to her stylized performance both in relation to the performable signs that she makes use of and to some of the indexical values that she highlights. Apart from thereby pointing to the features’ indexical valence and thereby at the same time illustrating the dynamic and rhizomatic nature of enregisterment processes (Agha 2005, 2007), the ambiguity, whether or not it is intentional, seems to work in Selda’s favor in terms of entertainment value. This resides in the fact that the features she stylizes carry the potential for evoking relatively contrasting social identities like a goofy, stupid and incompetent foreigner *and* a cool, urban youngster. She uses the valence to consolidate the image of her magician as a bull in a china shop i.e. as someone whose actions, both linguistic and non-linguistic, are characterized by confusion and ridiculousness. In this way, I argue, Selda incorporates an element of social status in her performance by positioning her magician in relation to the stratified sociolinguistic economy of contemporary Denmark. Her comments about “speaking in a strange way” and “not knowing Danish” play important parts in this effort because of the link between such evaluations and the widespread ideology of linguistic uniformity that has been shown to be an integral of the institutional structures of the Danish public schools. The ideology projects standard Danish as the one and only means for achieving educational and societal success while linking registers like “Turkish” and “Danish with a Turkish accent” to a low social status (Karrebæk 2013; Madsen 2016; Stæhr & Madsen 2017). By exploiting these institutional and macro-societal stratified structures to position her magician as having a low social status, Selda’s performance at the same time allows herself and the audience to view themselves as occupying a higher status position within the frame of sociolinguistic and ethno-cultural stratification that her performance invokes.

Samuel's performance does not include quite the same ambiguity although there is some goofiness to his initial apology to Guillaume. His and his peers' stylized performances quite clearly concern the street language register on both the level of practice and on the level of indexicality. In their stylizations they make use of swear words such as *fuck*, *fucking*, *little shit* and *shut up*, a voiced /s/ pronunciation, words associated with different national "languages" such as *eow* (Kurdish), *wollah* (Arabic) and *supris* (French) as well as non-standard prosodic patterns and these features stand out as the most prevalent ones in their performances. Apart from standing out because of their generally rare use among the boys in focus (at least to my knowledge), the features are furthermore presented by the boys in a way that clearly illustrates how their interactional "battle" is not on authenticity or involving any kind of sincere investment. Instead the battle concerns knowledge on street language features and indexicalities and the fun that (clearly) goes with playing with these features. As mentioned above, this is furthermore illustrated through their common laughter throughout the entire sequence. The meanings that come into play very much correspond with the broader circulating indexicalities associated with the use of street language such as toughness and masculinity which of course fits well with the overall framing of the interaction as an altercation between on the one side Samuel and Yousef and on the other Pascal and Alex. Their investment in the altercation resembles their investment in the street language register which means that their threats are not to be taken seriously. So in contrast to what was the case in Selda's performance, the entertainment value in this interaction is not primarily related to incompetence or slap stick comedy. Instead it seems related to playing tough by drawing in an exaggerated way on practices and indexical values associated with street language and perhaps also doing so in an environment that in many ways signal the exact opposite through its elite school status and socioeconomic profile of privilege. In this way, the boys' stylization performance shares interesting parallels to Selda's by also commenting on the institutional and macro-societal structures that are surrounding them. They do so by depicting the use of street language and the indexical invocations associated with the use as something to make fun of rather than to be sincerely invested in and thereby they also link the use of the features in focus to having a low social status.

Together the examples support the image that the contemporary urban vernacular in Copenhagen has become a widespread phenomenon by illustrating how its prevalent features are not just part of the

linguistic repertoires of children from the urban, public schools but also the children of a socioeconomically privileged private elite school. Furthermore, they show how the pupils in both environments seem very familiar with these features' potentially conflicting indexical meanings. Both Selda and Samuel exploit these links for situational purposes, in each case as a source for having fun and being linguistically and socially creative. They do so in order to create rapprochement with their peers and for positioning themselves in relation to the indexicalities of the features that point to being dumb, socially inept, (linguistically) incompetent, violent, tough, loud and transgressive. This positioning is of course not straightforward seeing how both Selda and Samuel through their performances also show their access to, and thereby right to, use these exact features. However, by doing so through stylizations and thereby through a type of practice that inherently includes a dis-association with the voice one is using (Coupland 2007), Selda and Samuel clearly construct a distance between themselves and the voices that they take on.

The stratified sociolinguistic economy of contemporary Denmark

Apart from involving such situated positioning on scales of in vs. out and high social status vs. low social status through a dis-association with the ways of speaking that are being highlighted, both performances illustrate a remarkable tact for the sociolinguistic economy of contemporary Denmark among these Copenhagen children. Samuel's and Selda's performances evoke social hierarchies that mirror the stratified aspect of this economy by incorporating indexical links between the stylistic features that they use and different elements of social and linguistic incompetence and thus bringing ideological aspects of social status differences into their micro-level acts of stylization. The fact that these ideological stances are in no way contested by the audience, furthermore implies that we are dealing with ideologies of wider societal currency. Selda and her audience show sensibility towards these hierarchies when Danish with an accent is linked to speaking in a weird way and not knowing Danish, and to be the voice of a generally incompetent and even laughable (magician) persona. Through her performance, Selda furthermore links features that carry the potential for being associated with both speaking Danish with a Turkish accent and with the street language register to values such as being badly mannered, socially awkward, as well as to being potentially violent, which thereby quite effectively links the use of such features to having a low social status. Selda's performance can thus also be seen as reproducing the institutionally anchored and widespread ideology of monolingualism

that has been shown to govern (most) practices in the classrooms of the public schools (e.g. Karrebæk 2013, Møller 2015). And actually this is supported by Selda's teacher who after the show evaluates Selda's performance with the words: "It was great that you spoke in such a clear voice, even though you were supposed to be someone who spoke bad Danish" (Field note TRN 20.03.14). Samuel and his peers show the same kind of sensibility towards the sociolinguistic economy when portraying and treating street language as a source for fun and jocular play and thus not as something to be sincerely invested in. Along the same lines as Selda, the boys link features associated with the register to being rude, violent and ill-behaved and thereby at the same time projects this speech style as a contrast to more "serious" and prestigious ways of speaking. This attitude towards the use of street language features is furthermore mirrored in the ethnographic group interview that we did with Samuel, Yousef and two other boys from the class, in which Samuel (and the others) generally dis-associated themselves from this speech style as well as the "gangster attitude" and "ill-mannered" persona that they perceive it to index. The dis-association furthermore fits well with Samuel's general investment in a school positive and academically ambitious identity and it shows how Samuel is aware of the discourse that places street language at the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy associated with non-academic values and a low social status.

This is not to say that we should understand the two performances as parodies constituting political and moral criticism of the sociolinguistic stratified reality of contemporary Denmark. However, we should understand them as plays on funny voices that illustrate awareness of these stratified aspects of the Danish society by reproducing them and thereby we should also understand Selda's and Samuel's acts as ways for them to find positional ground within these unequal sociolinguistic and institutional structures. Their stylizations thereby make difference relevant on a hierarchical scale of institutional and educational value and they place stylistic features associated with street language and "learner Danish" at the bottom by depicting them as resources that mainly have prominence as props in comedic performances and thereby as stripped of seriousness, academic value and prestige. However, it is not just the resources that get depicted, treated and recognized by the audience as enregistered emblems of a low social status, it is also the identities that get indexically linked to these ways of speaking. In this way, the performances also invoke an element of social inequality by depicting

identity features such as having a Turkish or an Arabic ethnic background with not having any serious value within the institutional reality of contemporary Denmark.

Language ideologies produce challenges for official institutions faced with an increasing linguistic diversity that requires speakers to navigate between different sociolinguistic restrictions and possibilities, and as this study has shown this navigation involves speakers using stylized voices to position themselves in accordance with the prevalent ideological linguistic hierarchy. Selda and Samuel show sensitivity towards these structures when they exploit them for social (status) positioning by operationalizing their linguistic repertoires to make sense of the social, linguistic and cultural diversity that is an integral part of their everyday life. Their situated and stylized uses of features of “learner Danish” and street language confirm Madsen’s (2013: 135) assertion that “[l]inguistic signs that used to be seen as related to migration - identified as ethnic minority rather than majority on an insider/outsider dimension of comparison - are now related to status on a high/low dimension as well”. We can use such second-order indexicality (Silverstein 2003) to point to the continued sociolinguistic significance of class relations in Danish society and thereby also to problematize the widespread assumptions that social class is irrelevant and vague in relation to rapidly changing contemporary societies (Abercrombie and Warde et al. 2000: 148; Halldén et al. 2008: 1; Block 2014: 8), that class relations are losing significance as a vector for linguistic variation (Coggle 1993; Maegaard 2007) and also that there is a decline in class awareness in particular among young people (Bradley 1996: 77). The data presented in this study confirm what Rampton (2006: 223) argues, namely that “systematic inequalities [...] do not disappear just because people stop talking about them in the ways that they used to” and that situated practical activity and language use among youth in urban settings invoke social status positioning and institutional inequality. In this way, my study supports the call for a (re)focus on institutional inequality in contemporary studies of urban youth’s practical activities and language use if we wish to advance our understanding of social inequalities in contemporary societies (Rampton 2010, 2011; Jaspers 2011, Madsen 2013, Collins 2015a).

Article 3

Multiculturalism as capital

Diversity and social stratification in Danish schools

Introduction

In this article I investigate and discuss diversity in contemporary school demography in Denmark by looking at value ascriptions, articulated beliefs and norms concerning ethno-cultural diversity and bi-/multilingualism from different perspectives and relating these to social stratification processes. The ethnographic focus is on a French-Danish private school that is not only officially bilingual and multicultural but also takes pride in being so. In my analyses, I take a closer look at this discursive understanding of *multiculturalism as capital* (Bourdieu 1986) as it is articulated on the school's website and investigate how such an ideological notion of ethno-cultural diversity and bi-/multilingualism being academic assets is reproduced in the pupils' and teachers' social and linguistic practices as well as their understandings of one another. I compare the practices and their discursive outcome with the prevalent tendencies in Danish public discourse to treat (particular types of) diversity and multilingualism as threats towards uniformity and social cohesion (e.g. Yilmaz 1999, Rennison 2009: 153 as cited in Madsen 2016: 170). Through this comparison, I illustrate how the two vastly different discursive ways of dealing with contemporary pupil populations represent two cultural models and how these models form two pupil identities which, although they are to a large extent similar, are substantially unequally valorized. The one model forms a minority identity that is characterized by posing problems to the Danish school system because it is perceived to be inherently incompatible with the "Danish" norms and values on which the system is built. In Danish public discourses on education and schooling, this identity is indexed by the predominant label "bilinguals". The other model also forms an identity which is bi-/multilingual and ethno-culturally multifaceted; however this identity which (in lack of an emic category) can be described as a cosmopolitan and multilingual elite student connotes educational and socio-economic success on a global scale. The latter identity, I argue, is furthermore linked to ideologies of neoliberalism by being portrayed and perceived as having *market value* in the globalized educational system (Block & Gray 2016).

Empirically I focus on a case from the private school revolving around specific educational materials, communicative events and ideological perceptions on display in an English lesson in a 6ième class (with pupils at the age of 11 and 12). In this particular teaching session, the usual academic activities are temporarily suspended because of a visit from a group of pupils from 4ième (two grades above) who are accompanied by their Spanish teacher. There are several aspects to the situation that illustrate the interplay between the discourse of multiculturalism as capital and its ideological implications and then the classroom practices. For instance, the shift between Danish, French, Spanish and English in the interaction between the teachers and the pupils has a very natural flow to it and also the identification of multicultural identities at several points during the session is significant. The case mirrors an institutional way of approaching and engaging with multicultural and multilingual pupil backgrounds as symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986) which stands in contrast to the ideology of monolingualism that has been shown to govern educational practices in the urban public schools (e.g. Karrebæk 2013, Møller 2015). My study thereby draws parallels to Jasper's (2009) distinction between *prestigious* and *plebeian multilingualism* by revealing how the widespread narrative in Danish public discourse that presents non-Danish identities i.e. bilingual identities as a problematic part of the learning environment is housing a layer of social class which, although it is rarely explicitly dealt with in debates concerning the subject, is imperative for the representation of school diversity as a basic societal problem. The element of social class becomes visible in the two inherently different cultural models forming almost opposite multicultural identities as discursive outcomes of these very different ways of dealing with and understanding contemporary diversity. Based on my analyses, I argue that it is pivotal that we, in a Danish perspective, widen and nuance our understanding – and thereby also our approach to – the topic of diversity in the contemporary schools by allowing social class relations to feature as an integral aspect when we discuss schooling and educational challenges in contemporary society.

The bilinguals

As argued by Bourdieu & Passeron (1977), schools play an instrumental part in the socialization of children into state-licensed ideologies and therefore we should not underestimate (nor should we overestimate it of course given children's ability to think for themselves) the impact that reproductions of ideological stances towards for instance demographic diversity may have on children's

understandings of themselves in relation to others. Within prevalent discourses concerning diversity in the Danish school system, there is one term whose impact and prominence cannot be overestimated and that is the term *bilingual*. As described elsewhere (Nørreby 2016: 200-201) it was originally introduced in an announcement from the Ministry of Education in 1996 in a (commendable) attempt to come up with a pedagogical term that 1) could be used to describe (all) schoolchildren in Denmark with other “home languages” than Danish and that 2) would create a focus on having a non-Danish home language as being a valuable resource rather than a deficiency (see also Karrebæk 2006). Instead what has happened though is that the term has become a designator for pupils who are educationally challenged as a result of their non-Danish background. Apart from this, the aspect of the term’s indexical field (Silverstein 2003, Eckert 2008) that pointed to having access to two languages has been more or less truncated, and instead the ethno-cultural element has been brought to the fore. Then as a result of this aspect of ethno-cultural difference being put continuously in opposition to Danish/Western European ethno-cultural heritage and resources, the term eventually has turned into a designator for problematic children with non-Western backgrounds. This indexical reconfiguration furthermore illustrates an important aspect to both the ongoing public discussion concerning bilinguals in the Danish schools and to the purposes of this study; namely the fact that the reported tendencies to see diversity and multilingualism as threats towards uniformity and social cohesion (e.g. Yilmaz 1999, Rennison 2009: 153 as cited in Madsen 2016: 170) in essence does not concern *all* diversity (although it might seem like it at first glance) but merely particular *types* of diversity. Today, “bilinguals” is rarely (if ever at all) used to describe pupils with for instance French, English or German home languages. So despite the initial positive intentions of introducing bilinguals as a positive term for migrants, Danes subsequently started to use the term to refer to (certain) migrants in a less positive way. The contemporary discursive understanding of bilinguals is on full display in the following quote from one of the larger Danish newspapers:

44 procent af de tosprogede børnehaveklasseelever i København har brug for en særlig indsats for at blive bedre til dansk. Dermed risikerer de at komme endog meget skidt fra start i skolelivet, og det er ikke godt nok, erkender politikerne. Næsten halvdelen af eleverne med ikke-vestlig baggrund i børnehaveklasserne i Københavns Kommune er så dårlige til

dansk, at de er i fare for at klare sig dårligt i folkeskolen og dermed ikke få en uddannelse.

Translation:

44 percent of the bilingual pupils in preschool in Copenhagen are in need of special training in order to become better at Danish. Thereby they risk getting off to a really bad start in their life of school and the politicians acknowledge that this is not good enough. Almost half of the pupils in preschool with non-Western background in the municipality of Copenhagen are so poor at Danish that they are in risk of performing badly in elementary school and thereby not getting an education.

<https://www.b.dk/nationalt/hver-anden-tosprogede-elev-er-daarlig-til-dansk>

As mentioned above the predominant use of “bilinguals” in media and elsewhere in public discourse continuously reproduces the image that being bilingual means being educationally challenged rather than being linguistically resourceful. This widespread assumption thereby also implies that home languages such as Arabic, Urdu and Turkish carry no academic value in a Danish context. Furthermore, the label bilinguals has become so embedded within *all* debates on Danish schooling (and thus not just debates concerning language) that the linguistic “deficiencies” are being juxtaposed with other personal “deficiencies” within the same frame of negative connotations involving socio-cultural and socio-economic aspects as well (which is also pointed to in the quote above in relation to the potential lack of educational opportunities). In this way, the term has actually come to index aspects related to social class relations such as differences regarding employment, educational and financial capacities etc. although social class is rarely explicitly addressed when discussing subjects in which “bilinguals” play a role (Ag forthcoming). All in all, this widespread discursive way of dichotomizing the contemporary pupil diversity in the Danish (public) schools and depicting the non-Danes/non-Westerns as “problems to overcome” forms a cultural model of a certain type of pupil identity. The identity is characterized by being bi/multilingual, generally low on resources, ethno-culturally incompatible to Danish norms and values and thereby also inherently out of sync with the structural aims of the Danish school system. And in many ways, the identity is indexed by the label “bilingual”.

As such a catalyst for defining a general image of the contemporary, diverse classroom in the Danish schools, the term bilingual is important to this study as well. Although the ethnographic focus is on a French-Danish private school, these relations and circumstances that the use of the term in many ways incorporates, remain important for several reasons. First of all, there are several pupils at the private school who have Arabic, Turkish and other non-Western backgrounds and who thereby in relation to the predominant understanding of the word would qualify as bilinguals themselves. Secondly, the private school is located in Copenhagen and thus, although it is not subject to the same political and ideological thrust as the public schools, still features as part of the Danish school environment (the school is driven partly within the Danish Ministry of Education). Thirdly, the pupil population at the private school resembles the population of the urban public schools which thereby makes this school's way of dealing with multilingualism and multiculturalism as capital even more interesting.

Methodological tools

In order to be able to grasp the interplay between these macro-level cultural models of identities, behaviors and values and the micro-level interaction in focus, I need particular methodological tools sensitive to both practice on the ground and its wider implications. Linguistic ethnography (e.g. Rampton et. al. 2004) is a suitable method for this because it builds on a theoretical understanding of language and the wider social world as mutually shaping and it construes contexts for communication as conditions that should be investigated rather than assumed. As analytical resources, the method combines linguistic and discourse analysis of observed or recorded interaction and ethnographic participant observation with an overall aim of providing accounts of the connection between the data and the wider social world. In what follows, I describe in detail the tools that I make use of in my analyses of the recorded data at the private school before describing the ethnographic part of the study as part of the introduction to the case analysis.

As part of the outline of his theoretical framework on enregisterment, Agha (2007) argues for the importance of approaching and understanding *the embodiment of cultural phenomena in perceivable signs* as dynamic and ongoing semiotic processes mediated by reflexive human activities. Through everyday social activities particular signs get linked to particular behaviors and values forming what Agha (2007: 78) labels “a cultural construct”. Once such a construct has a recognizable reality to a

certain group of people the continuous use of the links between sign, behavior and value that the construct represents might expand the familiarity and understanding of these links making it more widely known and thereby also more widely accessible for other people to draw on. Given the fact that such processes are guided by reflexive human activity such expansions also entail re-analyses and reconfigurations of the indexical links which might result in changes in the perception and understanding of the construct. This means that whenever we engage in semiotic activity and link certain sign-forms to cultural constructs, such as certain identities, we participate in shaping the cultural model of such identities. It follows from this, that such models and the roles, behaviors and stereotypical values that they entail can gain hegemonic force by being continuously reproduced on scales of wider societal currency like for instance through the voices of politicians and other decision makers in public debates. When this happens, they become *enregistered emblems* which basically means that they become widely recognized (Agha 2007: 235). In the case of bilinguals for instance, this aspect is important to emphasize because it helps explain how the cultural formation (or model) entailing this identity category has been indexically reconfigured by being continuously circulated by dominating voices within Danish public discourse. So even though Agha (2007: 79) by operationalizing the concept as *effects precipitated by reflexive processes*, deconstructs the idea that there should ever exist determinate cultural formations, his framework still leaves room for investigating and understanding how some cultural models and the identity images that they entail carry greater power than any potential competing models and how such processes impact people's everyday lives.

Such an understanding of the concept of cultural formations or models is anchored in the linguistic anthropological research agenda of studying how linguistic (and other semiotic) signs come to have both referential and relational meanings in social and cultural context (Hymes 1964, Duranti 1997). It therefore also draws clear parallels to the interplay between form, use and ideology presented as the *total linguistic fact* by Silverstein (1985) and the pertinent theoretical conviction that "[t]he meaning of any linguistic sign in *use* cannot be determined by decontextualized rules, whether linguistic or social" (Wortham 2008: 84). Especially the concept of indexicality (Ochs 1992, Silverstein 2003) is useful for investigating how particular signs are given particular socio-cultural meanings in local contexts and how these meanings link up with wider cultural models of perception. It refers to the perceivable links

between signs *in use*, contexts of use and the (stereotypical) images of ways of being that are continuously created, reproduced and modified in communicative encounters. Indexical associations are thus particular signs' links to pragmatically usable systems i.e. the cultural models that Agha (2007) describes. Such theoretical accounts of how language in use sometimes comes to have unexpected meanings in local contexts reveal the need for attending to both local uses *and* more widely circulating models of the social world if we wish to gain a thorough understanding of how these cultural models operate at the level of everyday interaction.

In order to examine the relationship between the linguistic practices, value ascriptions and articulated norms and beliefs observed in the classroom at the private school and the discursive formation or cultural model that forms the identity of the cosmopolitan and multilingual elite student, I incorporate as a methodological tool Davies and Harré's (1990) concept of positioning. They describe the concept as "[...] the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (Davies and Harré 1990: 49). Apart from thereby emphasizing how identities (or "selves" as they label it) *occur* or *are produced* in social interaction, their definition also points to this production being discursive in nature. This operationalization of positioning as a discursive act thereby shares a lot of similarities with Agha's (2007) notion of cultural formations because it builds on an understanding of the practice of constructing socially recognizable identities through interaction as parts of larger ongoing processes. This makes it a suitable method for the purpose of this study. It should also be noted how Davies and Harré (1990: 51) consider positioning to be an intersubjective practice i.e. a joint effort carried out by both oneself and by others. This means that people are not free to position themselves entirely according to their wishes and aims and that some as a result of this may experience being positioned i.e. ascribed an identity by others that they do not appreciate. Positioning is thus a discursively ongoing process and it involves interplay between local actions and perceptions and widely circulating cultural models of indexical links between individuals, ways of speaking and behaving. In this study, I use it to investigate how the situations in focus at the private school involve interactional self- and other positionings performed by pupils and teachers and to reveal the relationship between these acts and the discourse of multiculturalism as capital that the school presents as key in its approach to education and schooling on its website.

The multicultural private school

As described in the introduction the empirical focus in this study lies on a case concerning an English lesson in a 6ième class (with the pupils being at the age of 11 and 12) in which a Spanish teacher together with her pupils have come to visit. I witnessed the lesson as part of an 18 months long effort of ethnographic field work at the school and besides observing what went on and taking down notes I also had the session recorded on an mp3 recorder that I had given to one of the pupils before class.

Although the main focus in this study is on this particular English lesson, I also include data from art projects, other field work visits as well as an interview with some of my main participants to illustrate how the English lesson is not just a peculiar and isolated situation but indicative of a general pattern at the school. All the data stem from my final year of field work and they revolve around the same 6ième class as well as the Spanish teacher who was visiting the pupils in the English lesson. Before diving into the case however, a bit more information about the school is presented below.

The school in focus is a French/Danish private school and it is located in the city of Frederiksberg (which unofficially is considered part of Copenhagen) on one of Denmark's most expensive addresses. The socio-economic profile of the school mirrors its location and the school also belongs to the upper part of the Danish education hierarchy. The official language of the school is French which means that all lessons that are not language lessons of English, Spanish, Danish, etc. are taught in French. The school is driven partly within the framework of the Danish Ministry of Education and partly within the framework of the Agency for French Education Abroad and it provides the pupils with the possibility of taking a Danish-French "Baccalauréat" (DFB) that is recognized in both countries. With around 38 different pupil nationalities (according to their official statistics), the school is in line with the general image of the urban schools in Denmark characterized by a significant diversity. The pupil population consists of pupils with a wide range of linguistic, ethnic and cultural backgrounds with an obvious majority having family backgrounds in France or other French speaking countries and also the teachers come from very different backgrounds. However, pupils with no immediate French or French speaking backgrounds also attend the school and this can probably be explained by the fact that the school belongs to the upper part of the Danish education hierarchy. On its website under the tab "The school in brief" (my translation), the school proudly states that it is "multicultural" and that it "[...] offers good possibilities for each pupil through innovative teaching in a French-Danish context". The explicit

labeling of its profile as multicultural together with its mentioning of the context for teaching having different national anchorings (in France and Denmark), draw up an immediate image of a school that sees itself as inherently international. This self-presentation (and self-understanding) is reaffirmed later in the same text where it is stated that the school “qualifies the pupils for advanced education [...] everywhere in the world” indicating that although it has an overall French-Danish profile, the perspective of the academic potential reaches far beyond this national dichotomy. Apart from these textual images that consolidate the school’s international profile, the website also contains blogs that in different ways mirror the school’s view of multiculturalism as capital through themes such as “being an international pupil”, “food and culture”, “being German at a French school” etc. In one of the blogs concerning the theme of being an international pupil, one teacher of the school has put together a short personal text that reads:

Un peu sur moi

Voici, je m’appelle Mabel Canales et j’enseigne l’espagnol au Lycée Français de Copenhague. Je suis moi même ancienne élève du Lycée Français de Barcelone où j’ai passé mon bac il y a une éternité. Après ma licence en anglais j’ai enseigné le français, l’anglais, l’allemand et l’espagnol comme langues étrangères. Lentement je me suis spécialisée en anglais et espagnol après mon master et des formations universitaires diverses. En ce moment j’écris des livres pour l’enseignement de l’espagnol langue étrangère, je donne des cours à l’Institut Cervantes pour professeurs d’espagnol et de temps en temps je participe à des projets d’évaluation de l’enseignement de l’anglais. Mais avant tout je suis professeur de mes élèves à l’école.

Translation:

A little bit about me

Here I am, my name is Mabel Canales and I teach Spanish at The French School in Copenhagen. I am myself an old pupil at the French school in Barcelona where I passed my bac a lifetime ago. After my English license I learned French, English, German and Spanish as second languages. Slowly I have become specialized in English and Spanish after my master and different university courses. At the moment I am writing books for teaching Spanish as a second language, I am giving courses at [the name

of a teaching institute] for Spanish teachers and occasionally I participate in evaluation projects concerning the teaching of English. But first and foremost I am a teacher for my pupils at the school.

There are many interesting parallels between this piece of text and the ways in which the school is officially presented on its website. First of all, there is a process to the story that Mabel tells which can be seen as symbolizing how studying at this (type of) international and multicultural school opens up for subsequent studies abroad and also for studying at the university. Second, it presents knowing more than one language as an asset not only to be proud of but to fertilize and develop. Finally, it shows how studying at the school opens up for all sorts of interesting academic endeavors such as writing books and participating in various educational projects on a global scale. What is furthermore interesting about the text is that it is mainly *language acquisition* that is linked to educational and socio-economic success and thus treated as having distinct (market) value. In this way, the text can be said to incorporate ideological aspects of neoliberalism (see e.g. Mirowski 2013, Block & Gray 2016) by drawing up an image of a global(ized) educational market and constructing the academic opportunities and practices at the private school as constituting keys for gaining access (I will return to the neoliberal agenda in the discussion). Apart from the blogs, there are also other parts of the website that signal academic excellence on an international scale. There is for instance a section called “À l'honneur” (Eng: honors) that describes different academic achievements reached by various pupils of the school such as two pupils being honored at the distinguished French award show called “Concours Général” and others participating in the “Chemical Olympics” in Paris. The images reaffirm a discursive understanding of the academic environment in this school as reaching far beyond the borders of both Denmark and France.

The private school thereby represents a very different way of approaching a diverse pupil population compared to the predominant tendencies in Danish public discourse described above. Instead of treating diversity as a challenge to be overcome or as a necessary precondition in the globalized society (as is often the case on Danish public schools’ websites), the private school frames contemporary pupil diversity as part of an elite, global academics’ (maybe also neoliberal) discourse and thereby positions its own international and multicultural pupil group as inherently linked to cosmopolitan aspirations and educational achievement on a global scale. It thereby celebrates a (compared to the diversity of the

public schools) different and non-problematic type of diversity creating a sort of parallel multilingualism associated with economic cosmopolitanism rather than mixed language use and economic constraint (see also Jaspers 2009: 19, Blommaert 2011: 251). All in all, the different text pieces and images on the website i.e. the ways, in which the school is officially presented, form a cultural model in which being multicultural and multilingual is tied to being academically successful and they provide their pupils with something to strive for through their academic efforts. Below, I present the case study and illustrate how this discourse of multiculturalism as capital in many ways links up with the social and linguistic practices that take place in the everyday practices at the school.

The “Spanish” English lesson

The English lesson in focus is a rather unusual lesson compared to how these lessons normally would progress. On this particular day in March 2016, the pupils had visitors from a Spanish class consisting of around twenty pupils and their teacher who were there to advocate choosing Spanish as an elective subject. The reason why it was arranged was that the pupils of the English class (the ones I was there to observe) were only a couple of months away from having to choose between Spanish and German as a foreign language as part of the enrolment into 5^{ème} after the summer holiday. The session includes two main activities which constitute the foci of my analyses: First, the Spanish teacher gives a talk in (mainly) Spanish on the role of the Spanish language in the global society and shows a short video taped in one of her classes. Then after having explained how this use of videos is something that she prioritizes as a tool for learning in her teaching, she goes on to show a video that one of her former pupils had made as part of an introduction exercise in 2014. In my analyses, I run through the session chronologically drawing on various types of data as objects of analysis. In the first excerpt below, the Spanish teacher, Mabel, (who happens to also be the author of the blog text cited above) starts explaining why she is there:

Español es importante en el mundo

Mabel (Mab), Simon (Sim), Un-identified pupils (Pup), Nicolas (Nic), Audience (Aud)

01 Mab: te lo explicaré muy rápido 02 el español porque 03 para explicar un pocito	Mab: I will explain to you very quickly the Spanish language explain a little bit
--	--

04	qué es si qué es español		what it is what is Spanish
05	y por qué el español		and why Spanish
06	es importante en el mundo		is important in the world
07	Pup: mmmh↑ ((fnisen))	Pup:	mmmh↑ ((giggling))
08	Mab: hay una persona que sabe	Mab:	is there a person who knows
09	cuántas personas hablan		how many people speak
10	español en el mundo		Spanish in the world
11	Sim: mmmh↑ ((lyder forvirret))	Sim:	mmmh↑ ((sounds confused))
12	Mab: Simon(!) haha	Mab:	Simon(!) haha
13	Pup: haha	Pup:	haha

As we can tell from both the common pupil reaction in line 6 and Simon's utterance in line 11, the fact that Mabel talks in Spanish is a cause for surprise and confusion among the 6ième pupils. The reason why they are surprised is that Lisa, their English teacher, when introducing Mabel does not mention that Mabel will be presenting in Spanish while the confusion relates to the fact that the 6ième pupils have never received teaching in Spanish before. Mabel's laughter in line 12 as a reaction to Simon's trouble with understanding her question shows that she is well aware that the pupils have no experience (at least in class) with the Spanish language and it also works as a contextualization cue (Gumperz 1982) to let the pupils know that their inability to understand what she is saying is perfectly acceptable in this situation. She then continues in Spanish posing her question about how many people speak Spanish in the world yet again:

01	Mab: cuántas personas hablan	Mab:	how many people speak
02	español en el mundo		Spanish in the world
03	cuántas (!) una persona↑		how many (!) one persone↑
04	<pup: xxx> dos↑		<pup: xxx> two↑
05	cuántas personas		how many people
06	xxx no sabes↑		xxx you don't know↑
07	cuántas personas (.) si		how many people (.) yes
08	una persona xxx		one person xxx

09	combien de personnes	how many people
10	hablan español en el mundo	speak Spanish in the world
11 Aud:	aaa:rh	Aud: aaa:rh
12 Mab:	aaa:rh ((smiler))	Mab: aaa:rh ((smiles))
13	cuántas personas <pup: un	how many people <pup:
14	milliard>	one billion>
15	un millard↑(!) Madre de Dios	one billion↑ (!) mother of
16	Dios como los chinos no	God like the Chinese no
17 Pup:	det er ikke fem millioner	Pup: it is not five million
18 Nic:	muchos	Nic: many
19 Mab:	muchos muy bien	Mab: many very good
20	esa es la buena respuesta	that is the right answer
21	c'est la bonne reponse (.)	that is the right answer
22	muchos beacoup sí	many many yes
23 Aud:	haha	Aud: haha

After several failed attempts to make her “Spanish” question understandable to the pupils, Mabel turns to French in line 6. However instead of translating the entire question, she only translates “cuántas personas” (combien de personnes/how many people). As we can tell from the pupils’ common reaction in line 11, the translation suffices which means that the guessing can start. However, judging from the first guess of “one billion” (lines 13-14) the pupils do not seem to have a clear idea of just how many Spanish speaking people there are in the world. Nicolas then comes up with quite a clever answer, one that allows him to avoid the mentioning of concrete figures *and* to reply in Spanish, saying “muchos” (much) (line 18). Mabel acknowledges the answer subsequently with a “muy bien” (very good) and calls it “la bonne réponse” (the right answer) (lines 19-21). Her positive response illustrates how the usual high demands in these IRE dialogue led sessions at this elite school are temporarily abandoned in this particular moment. Actually, this loosening of the otherwise strict classroom culture is very illustrative of what goes on in the entire session and it is not just related to the demands in regard to providing right and thorough answers to the questions posed by the teacher; it is also mirrored in the linguistic practices. We see an example of this in line 17 where one pupil answers in Danish. This is something that would normally never occur or be tolerated outside the Danish classes because of the

general rule in all language classes that the target language is the only language used (see also Nørreby & Madsen forthcoming). The fact that it is not reacted upon by Mabel or by Lisa (the English teacher) illustrates that these common rules do not apply to this session.

The use of several different languages continues throughout the session and it is legitimized by both teachers. It seems obvious to conclude that this rather unusual linguistic situation is created by Mabel bringing Spanish into the English class and perhaps the subject of speaking Spanish in different areas of the world might also play a part. What then makes the situation even more interesting is that Mabel in what follows identifies herself as being Spanish.

01 Mab:	y el español se habla	Mab:	and Spanish is spoken
02	eh en África		eh in Africa
03 Aud:	((griner af et billede i	Aud:	((laugh at an image in the
04	i power point-præsentationen))		power point presentation))
05	c'est África xxx c'est		it's Africa xxx it's
06	Guinea Ecuatorial		Equatorial Guinea
07	et l'español es son		and Spanish is it's
08	idioma oficial		official language
09	et xxx c'est pas		and xxx it's not
10	le seul il y a un autre		the only one there is
11	un autre pays compatible		another another similar
12	y se hablan		country where Spanish is
13	español aquí en mi casa↑		also spoken in my home↑
14	en España↑ y se		in Spain↑ and
15	hablan español en América		Spanish is spoken in South
16	Latina en muchos países de		America in many countries in
17	América Latina sauf		South America except for
18	un (!) pays		one (!) country
19 Pup:	Brasil↑	Pup:	Brazil
20 Mab:	(1.0) en Brasil eh	Mab:	(1.0) in Brazil eh

As we can see Mabel here refers to Spain as her “home” (lines13-14) and by doing so she positions herself as not “merely” a Spanish teacher that knows about and has an interest in Spanish language and culture but as someone who is a Spaniard herself and thus is part of the global Spanish community that she talks about. Speaking to both Mabel and Lisa on different occasions, I learned that this way of personifying your subject as a teacher is a common pedagogical tool that most teachers at the school make use of. In an interview, Lisa explains to me how this approach involves incorporating an identity aspect into the language teaching that stretches beyond the classroom and which is supposed to make the pupils see Lisa as not just an English *teacher* but as a personification of her subject i.e. as someone who *is* English (it should be noted here that Lisa was born and raised in France, however she speaks English in a way that, at least to a Dane’s ear, makes her sound English). In a similar ethnographic interview with Mabel, she also refers to this “technique” as a common teaching tool at the school and so we can understand her positioning in the excerpt above as part of this common pedagogical strategy.

After positioning herself as someone whose home is Spain, Mabel asks the pupils if they know other countries in which Spanish is spoken and after the mentioning of a few examples, she encourages the pupils to think of *one* more (most likely referring to a well-known Spanish speaking country). This time she poses her question in French.

01 Mab:	mais j’ai oublié un xxx	Mab:	but I have forgotten one xxx
02	quelqu’un peut me dire lequel		can someone tell me which
03	un xxx très grand		a xxx very big
04 Pup:	xxx	Pup:	xxx
05 Mab:	es muy grande	Mab:	it is very big
06 Pup:	Rusland↑	Pup:	Russia↑
07 Mab:	no ((fniser))	Mab:	no ((giggles))
08 Pup:	the American states of	Pup:	the American states of
09	America		America
10	sometimes <Mab: eh>		sometimes <Mab: eh>
11 Mab:	or sometimes↑ sometimes↑	Mab:	or sometimes↑ sometimes↑
12	many(!) times		many(!) times

13	si se hablan mucho español eh	yes they speak a lot of
14	en Estados Unidos dans les	Spanish in The United States
15	États-Unis xxx porque	The United States xxx because
16	ça n'est pas tout le monde	it is not everyone
17	mais c'est une grande partie	but it is a big part
18	vale↑	okay↑

Once again the mix of different languages stands out. This particular excerpt lasts around 24 seconds and the interaction consists of a total of 7 turns, and yet it involves words associated with no less than four languages (French, Spanish, Danish and English). And once again, both the teacher and the pupils participate in the language mixing. As we know from various studies on youth language (e.g. Rampton 2006, Jørgensen 2010, Blackledge & Creese 2010, Otsuji & Pennycook 2015), such instances of linguistic productions that incorporate linguistic resources associated with many different national language registers (Agha 2005, 2007) have become very common among contemporary (urban) speakers. However, to witness these kinds of practices *inside* classrooms as part of serious academic conduct is a much more rare sight (Garcia & Wei 2014, Jaspers & Madsen 2016). It seems obvious though to link these somewhat unusual classroom practices to the school's discursive view of multiculturalism as capital and of international pupil groups as an important academic asset and of course it must be understood as well as part of the commercial for Spanish. The practices do contrast with the school's more common ideological approach to what language is used which require the pupils to always stick to one language at a time which should also be noted. However, as shown elsewhere (Nørreby & Madsen forthcoming), there is a tendency at the school to abandon these ideological guidelines whenever the practices in the classroom revolve around something less conventional than teacher-led discussions at the black board. Mabel's and her pupils' visit could easily qualify as less conventional in relation to the common everyday school activities. In this way, the session also shares similarities to what Creese & Blackledge (2011) have described as an interplay between *separate* and *flexible bilingualism*, in which two opposing ideological positions concerning language (use) play out in contemporary heterogeneous learning environments.

With her presentation and her use of different languages, as well as the acceptance of the use of different languages among the pupils, Mabel achieves a multilingual and multicultural classroom and positions herself and the pupils as a multilingual and multicultural group whose educational aims involve gaining perspectives on the world by acquiring “new” cultural and linguistic resources. This positioning draws clear parallels to the school’s discursive view of multiculturalism as capital by emphasizing multilingual practices and multicultural identities as academically valuable. Another interesting aspect to the situation is the branding perspective that is incorporated into Mabel’s talk which is reminiscent of the way in which the school presents itself on the website in terms of presenting foreign languages as both a source for having fun and achieving academic success. So also in this regard, Mabel is reproducing the aspirations articulated on the website which, as mentioned above, involve preparing and equipping the pupils with resources for engaging in higher education “everywhere in the world”. Finally, there is also another cosmopolitan perspective to the situation that is constituted by Mabel presenting the acquisition of Spanish language skills as a way of entering the Spanish speaking and Spanish culture loving family which is spread out all over the world in places such as Africa, Europe and South America. This global lens that to a high degree frames her talk, reproduces the discursive image that sees the acquisition of various linguistic skills and cultural knowledge as constituting symbolic capital to use as a gateway to international academic endeavors and membership of global communities and it once again positions herself and the pupils as a group whose multilingual and multicultural backgrounds constitute profound educational value.

The videos

After having explained to the pupils the widespread character of the Spanish language and its benefits, Mabel continues her branding of Spanish classes by showing the first of two videos. It is a short video which (as she lets the pupils know) is also featured on her blog on the school’s website and it was recorded during one of her classes. The video shows several of her pupils engaging in a moment of “cozy time” where the books have been replaced by glasses and cups and the pupils together with Mabel and their parents are enjoying the Southern American tea-like treat “mate”. They are doing so as part of a “last day of class”-celebration which in Mabel’s classes traditionally involves a visit from the pupils’ parents and the consumption of various Spanish cultural goods. Apart from really emphasizing how Spanish class is (also) about having fun by showing pupils laughing, eating, drinking and having a

great time while in class, the video contains several humorous aspects and is generally quite amusing. It therefore receives several laughs from both the 6ième pupils, Mabel's own pupils and Lisa during the showing. When the video is finished Mabel asks the pupils if they know what the beverage in the video is called. When one pupil who has a Spanish speaking family background then raises her hand Mabel says: "Arh la Paula conobe" (Arh Paula knows it). With her utterance, Mabel incorporates a link between Paula knowing what "mate" is and her Spanish family background. Apart from thereby positioning Paula as Spanish, Mabel's action illustrates an inclination to use the children's diverse family backgrounds as resources in the classroom practices. At this point in Mabel's talk, the pupils are allowed to ask questions and once again the level of "language mixing" is striking. Questions are asked in Spanish, French and English, Mabel replies in French and Spanish and then Lisa speaks in English. Once again there is a natural flow to the dialogue which is never reacted upon by neither the teachers nor the pupils.

Adelie's video

As the last part of her talk, Mabel shows a longer video (approximately 4 minutes) that was made in relation to one of her former Spanish classes. Since the school follows the French structural model, the pupils that sign up for attending Spanish class in 5ième have been enrolled into many different 6ième classes the year before and therefore they don't know each other very well. For this reason, the first class of the year usually begins with the pupils introducing themselves to each other. Mabel then came up with an idea of making this introduction more interesting by turning it into an exercise and asking the children to each make a video in which they present themselves to the rest of the class. More precisely, they are asked to talk about "who they are", "where they come from", "how many languages they speak", "what they like", "how old they are" etc. Apart from thereby constituting personal introductions through which the pupils let their peers know who they are, the videos also constitute pedagogical tools for introducing the pupils to the Spanish language seeing how they are told to do them in Spanish. As preparation, the pupils become familiar with common Spanish (structural) phrases such as "Yo soy" (I am), "Me gusta" (I like), "Yo tengo" (I have) etc. and then they have to put together their presentations based on these. The maker and also the "star" of the video is Adelie. She is at the time 12 years old and she lives at Frederiksberg together with her mother who was born in France, her father who was born in Germany and her little sister who, like Adelie, was born in

Germany. The video was made two years before Mabel's visit to the 6ième class, but because of the way in which Adelie is able to successfully use a humoristic and very entertaining approach to putting together an introducing that is both sublimely informative and culturally enlightened, Mabel at this point still uses this video as an example whenever she has to promote her Spanish course. In the following, I deliver a sequential analysis of the video focusing on what I find to be interesting aspects of it in relation to this study's overall focus on multiculturalism as capital.

The video starts with two brief shots of Adelie first sitting by the water with a view over the iconic Danish area called "Nyhavn" (New Haven) saying "hola" (hello) to the viewers and then introducing herself ("me llamo Adelie"/my name is Adelie) while walking down another iconic Copenhagen tourist attraction, the pedestrian street named "Strøget". In the third shot, she tells the audience that she lives in Denmark ("vivo en Dinamarca"/I live in Denmark) while the music corps of the Danish Royal Life Guards is playing in the street behind her. A possible explanation for the choice of these particular backgrounds is that Adelie perceives them to be emblematic of Denmark and because they thereby fit the frame that structures her presentation and which is quite nicely introduced in her utterance "vivo en Dinamarca". It is noticeable how she refers to herself as *living in* Denmark which gives an impression that although Denmark is where she lives, it is not (necessarily) where she is from. Also by saying that she is living in *Denmark* and not just *Copenhagen* her introduction comes off as being addressed to a much larger audience than her Spanish class (who obviously would be familiar with the city of Copenhagen) i.e. an international audience that does not necessarily know what Copenhagen is. As we shall see this international framing permeates the entire video in which Adelie continuously positions herself as a cosmopolitan citizen who is enjoying life in Copenhagen with her international family, studying at an international school and who values engaging with all sorts of international cultural and linguistic resources (with an emphasis on Spanish of course). Furthermore, given how she presents herself in Spanish, the video also quickly establishes a discourse of tourism i.e. an image of this being cultural mediation targeted at a Spanish speaking audience which thereby helps reaffirm Adelie's positioning as a cosmopolitan, multilingual and multicultural girl living in Copenhagen.

After the opening shots, Adelie goes on to tell the viewer how old she is and who her friends are before introducing her little sister. After this, Adelie while carrying her dog says:

01 Ade: mi perro es muy famoso en 02 en Dimanarca 03 se↑ llama↑ (.)›tívoli› (!)	Ade: my dog i very famous in Denmark he↑ is↑ called ›tívoli› (!)
--	---

Adelie's monologue here projects an image of her appropriating Danish cultural artifacts – not just as part of her performance (her dog actually *does* share name with the famous Copenhagen amusement park “Tivoli”) but as a way of exploring and embracing the Copenhagen culture surrounding her which then reproduces the image of this being more of a location to Adelie than an actual home. In the next scene, Adelie uses a book and the Spanish phrase “me gusta lea, mucho” (I really like to read) to position herself as a serious and dedicated pupil seeking knowledge. This fits very much with my overall impression of the pupils at the private school who always come to school well prepared and generally take school work very seriously. After this, Adelie lets the viewers into her home which is an apartment located right next to the school at one of Denmark's most expensive addresses. She then makes two humoristic frames by first saying that she has a tiger in her room referring to a fluffy tiger toy and then letting the viewer know that she plays basketball before jumping from a clip of her preparing to make a basket from a far distance to a clip showing the ball going through the basket. In the next clip, Adelie has returned to her home and the camera is zoomed in so that the viewer is only able to see her face. Adelie says “toco la guitarra” (I play the guitar) after which the camera zooms out to reveal that she is now wearing a Spanish flamenco dress. Then the “authentic” sound is muted and the song “Bambolero” by The Gipsy Kings starts playing while Adelie moves her hands and mouth to make it look like she is the one performing the song. Apart from illustrating how Adelie clearly has a knack for allowing humor to play a substantial part in her video, her guitar performance also shows her awareness of cultural artifacts and resources in that “Bambalero” easily could be characterized as one of the most iconic Spanish songs in the world.

In these clips from her home, there is also an element of socio-economic relations that enters Adelie's video. The fact that she lives right next to the school in what must be a substantially expensive apartment, projects an image of upper class relations and thereby implicitly positions her as someone who comes from a socio-economic background of privilege. Given how she is a pupil at this particular private school, this is perhaps not that surprising; however it is still a relevant circumstance to consider in relation to this being a video that very much embraces the ideological notion of multiculturalism by

discursively incorporating it as an important identity tool. The incorporation of Adelie's socio-economic background (although it is not necessarily intentional) thereby creates a link between having access to multilingual and multicultural resources and being wealthy and through this link Adelie is positioned as an elite multilingual student. Her home is not the only aspect that leaves the impression of Adelie having an upper class background. There is also the fact that her video has clearly been recorded using professional equipment which becomes especially apparent when seeing the videos made by other pupils in her class (I gained access to these through Mabel) which have all been recorded using smartphones. Compared to these, Adelie's video comes off as almost a professional piece of work which means that she must have had access to more sophisticated equipment (than a smartphone) while also receiving help for the recording of the video given how most of the scenes are shot with someone else holding the camera.

After the song (she only plays the first 5 seconds), Adelie is back outside standing in front of a fountain close to her home holding in the one hand a (French) baguette and in the other a (German) brezel while saying:

01 Ade:	soy de Francia† y Alemania	Ade:	I am from France† and Germany
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After her utterance, Adelie looks back and forth at the two pieces of bread twice with a look that suggests that she is having a hard time choosing between which one to bite into until she eventually chooses the brezel - indicating either that she feels more German than French *or* that she likes brezels more than baguettes. When seen together with the fact that she lives in Copenhagen and attends a French-Danish school, the fact that she perceives herself to be both French and German, while still letting the viewer know all this in Spanish, adds to Adelie's general positioning as a cosmopolitan, multilingual and multicultural individual that thrives on (and takes pride in) having access to various linguistic, cultural and ethnic identity resources. The next clip reinforces this image when Adelie films a row of national flags while letting the audience know how many "languages" she speaks:

01 Ade:	yo hablo danés† alemán†	Ade:	I speak Danish† German†
02	francés† un poco español†		French† a bit of Spanish†
03	(2.0) e† inglés		(2.0) and† English

Adelie then ends the video with yet another comedic performance when she first states to “like scarves a lot” before putting on several of them. She then complains about the heat and ends her talk in the video with the words: “vamos a la playa” (let’s go to the beach) upon which the song “vamos a la playa” by Loona starts to play while Adelie leaves her apartment. Apart from once again succeeding in combining cultural knowledge of iconic Spanish songs with great entertainment value (the 6ième pupils really enjoyed this scene and actually started singing along when it was shown), Adelie thereby reaffirms her positioning as a girl of socioeconomic privilege. This is based first of all on the sheer amount of scarves available to her in the closet and then also on her strutting walk across the street in which she, apart from wearing the obscene amount of scarves, has her dog, Tivoli, by her side while wearing fashionable tight jeans and designer sunglasses projecting (in my analytical view) an image of a young Paris Hilton going to the beach in Ibiza. Given how such possibilities exist for most of the pupils at the French school, Adelie’s video most likely does not come off as her showing off her upper class background in the eyes of the 6ième pupils. Though, to the common viewer this image is hard to overlook. And as I will turn to in the discussion, this aspect is furthermore interesting to consider in relation to the general tendency at the French school to perceive and present multiculturalism and multilingualism as symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986) because of the link between (certain) multicultural and multilingual resources and wealth. The socio-economic aspect of which *kinds of* linguistic and cultural resources that are mainly highlighted at the school (and in Adelie’s video) is namely an essential part of the discussion of how diversity is treated differently at the private school compared to the Danish public schools. Before moving on to the discussion though, I shall briefly consider three other examples of the interplay between the multiculturalism discourse and the everyday practices and educational activities at the school in order to illustrate to the reader how the Spanish English lesson is not just a peculiar example but emblematic of everyday life at the school.

I am Russian, American, French, Swedish, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch

The first example stems from a French lesson in the 6ième class during a discussion on cultural differences between Denmark and France. As part of the discussion, the teacher, Ives, after having shared with the pupils how he finds the Danes’ habit of eating dinner at 6 o’clock extremely strange, asks the pupils when they usually eat. After a few responses from pupils who all eat at “Danish hours”, Ives wants to know if he indeed is the only one with “French” eating habits:

Ives asks if anyone eats dinner at 10 and David K. among others raises his hand. "C'est vrai?" says Ives to David in a slightly surprised tone. "Vous devriez parler français à table, David, parce que c'est vraiment français de manger aussi tard" he says. After a couple of laughs and more comments about eating hours Ives says to David: "Tu es peut-être plus français que danois David". I take notice of this general inclination to point to these different degrees of cultural and ethnic identity or belonging which clearly is a shared practice among the teachers and the pupils. It is not so much French or Danish, it is more different degrees of Frenchness and Danishness. I find it interesting.

Field note TRN 13.04.16

By saying that David and his family ought to speak French together ("Vous devriez parler français à table") Ives positions David (and his family) as partly French because of their eating habits and partly Danish because of their preference for Danish as the language they use the most (which is implied through the use of "should" in Ives' remark). This way of characterizing eating late as "vraiment français" (truly French) and thereby indexically connecting certain practices to a certain cultural and national affiliation or origin, was a very common thing for Ives to do. During my time of field work, I also witnessed him on several occasions positioning himself as thoroughly French by talking about how he found various Danish cultural practices confusing because of his own French cultural heritage. After his remark in this field note about the eating hours, Ives goes on to explicitly position David as someone who is potentially more French than Danish implying with his intonation that he initially considered David to be more Danish than French (I gather that this is related to Ives' evaluation of David's French language skills). As I have noted in my field note, Ives' utterance is anchored in a dynamic view of ethnic and cultural belonging through which David is talked about as having different degrees of Danishness and Frenchness to him and thus not being one or the other; although at the same time, his remarks of course also infuse a somewhat static conception of the connection between language and national identities. Still, this way of positioning the pupils as bi- or multinational (I have never witnessed an explicit naming of the pupils' national belonging when carrying out field work in a public school) is indeed interesting and it once again links up with the overall discursive image of multiculturalism as something that plays an integral part in the academic activities at the school.

This way of approaching and understanding ethnic and national belonging and making it an explicit part of the academic activities, was also illustrated on the walls of the classrooms and hallways of the school through various posters and art projects made by the pupils. When walking around at the school, you would often see art projects dealing with themes such as ethnic and cultural belonging or linguistic repertoires under headlines like “Mes pays” (My countries), or “Je viens de” (I come from), “Mes langues” (My languages) and almost without exception, these posters would flash the international profile of the school and its pupil population by showing several “belongings” on each sheet. Below is an example of such a poster:



The poster was part of an art project that the Spanish teacher, Mabel (who we saw visiting the 6^{ème} class earlier), was in charge of. In this project, the pupils were told to do Picasso-like self-portraits while supporting their images with text pieces containing different kinds of personal information. Here we can see a pupil describing herself as Russian, American, French, Swedish, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. Now obviously this is a rather extreme example given how few pupils at the school have *that* many national backgrounds. However, as an example it is still interesting because it underlines how international heritage as well as the access to resources that it in many ways constitutes, is put forward at this school as something to be proud of, as something to cultivate and (even more importantly) as something that is relevant to the academic activities that take place. In this case, it is put to the fore by the teacher as part of an art project which thereby allows the pupils to use their backgrounds as concrete symbolic capital in relation to the academic practices.

The last example is from an interview that I conducted together with a colleague involving four pupils from the 6ième class that held my main participants. As part of the interview, my colleague, Lian, asks the pupils if they all have family in France.

We have like a French side

Lian (Lia), Simon (Sim), Anna (Ann), Jean (Jea), Chloé (Chl)

01 Lia:	Har I alle har I alle sammen	Lia:	do all of you do all of you
02	familie i Frankrig		have family in France
03 Sim:	ja <Chl: ja> <Jean: ja>	Sim:	yes <Chl: yes> <Jean: yes>
04	<Ann: mmh mmh>		<Ann: mmh mmh>
05 Ann:	<Christine>	Ann:	<Christine>
06 Sim:	<mmh> det plejer vi at have	Sim:	<mmh> we usually do
07	fordi vi har sådan en		because we have like a
08	fransk side		French side
09 Lia:	ja (.) det er lidt	Lia:	yes (.) well it depends
10	<forskelligt jo>		<you know>
11 Ann:	<jamen det er bare>	Ann:	<yeah but it is just>
12 Jea:	<Frankrig det er jo	Jea:	<France is huge
13	kæmpestort>		you know>
14 Sim:	nårh ja det er rigtig nok	Sim:	yeah of course that is true
15 Chl:	Mia	Chl:	Mia
16 Sim:	ja der er jo ja ja ja	Sim:	yes there are yes yes yes
17	jeg har taget helt f		I was completely w
18	xxx		xxx
19	glem det		never mind
20 Lia:	men har hvad med jer har I	Lia:	but what about you do you all
21	alle sammen en fransk forælder		have a French parent
22	eller		or
23 All:	ja	All:	yes
24 Jea:	min mor er fransk	Jea:	my mother is French

25 Sim: og Sveijts 26 Ann: jeg har så meget familie i 27 Amerika (.) jeg har bare 28 aldrig (!) været derovre	Sim: and Switzerland Ann: I have so much family in America (.) I have just never (!) been there
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Simon's remark in lines 6, 7 and 8 reveals how he considers the pupil population in his class (or maybe he means the school in general) to be characterized by being *partly* French. Chloé then as a reaction mentions Mia (line 15) who is one of just two pupils in the class who do not have at least one parent who was born in France (her parents both come from Switzerland which explains Simon's somewhat "out of context" remark in line 25). After this, Lian asks the four pupils if they all have a French parent to which they all reply "yes" (line 23). The whole talk about different family backgrounds then seems to spur Anna on to reveal how she also has an American family background. Once again, such an act shows how the pupils find it common to bring forward their ancestral backgrounds as something valuable. And as we can tell from Anna's emphasis on "never" in her last utterance (line 28), the fact that she has not (yet) visited this part of her family is a source of frustration for her because she sees it as a missed opportunity. Apart from thereby reflecting the overall image of the school's pupil group as inherently international, the excerpt and especially the way of dealing with a diverse cultural and ethnic family heritage as opportunities for exploration that Anna shows, reveals how the norm at the school among the pupils is to perceive one's multilingual and multicultural heritage as a source of pride i.e. an asset in their institutional environment. Together the examples presented show how the pupils at this school generally orient towards the (local) cultural model of the cosmopolitan and multilingual elite student and how they do so by using their multilingual voices and multicultural profiles as tools for positioning themselves as globalized citizens whose inherent international backgrounds carry great academic and social value.

The discourse at work in the public school

As mentioned in the introduction, these empirical accounts from the private school that illustrate how pupil diversity is treated as academically valuable stand in sharp contrast to how diversity is generally dealt with in the public school system in Denmark. In these contexts it is, as is the case in many institutions of education (e.g. Bourdieu 1974, Jaspers 2011, Madsen et. al. 2016), an overarching

ideology of linguistic uniformity, through which the standard language (in this case Danish) is upheld as the overarching means for gaining access to academic success, govern most official practices. One of the many studies that show how these discursive tendencies to a high degree impact the practices inside the Danish schools is Karrebæk (2013) who investigates linguistic minority children's socialization into this ideology of monolingualism. She does so by analyzing interactions between three girls who have Turkish and Moroccan family backgrounds and focusing on their ways of relating to the use of Turkish in the classroom. Karrebæk (2013: 369) illustrates how the girls continuously stigmatize the use of Turkish in school by for instance treating it as an undesirable way of being spoken to and thereby co-construct Turkish (in relation to school activities) as inappropriate and illegitimate, while Danish is upheld as the appropriate and proper language to use. Based on the fact that such normative tendencies do not just shape the intersubjective practices of the pupils but are also mirrored in the official practices in the classroom, Karrebæk (2013: 363-364) concludes that this lack of talk about linguistic diversity resulted in a "[...] lack of visibility [...] of it and thereby they [the teachers] achieved the monolingual classroom which media, legislation and the principal represented as the ideal and in which affiliation with minority languages (such as Turkish) became a stigma". Finally, her study also involves examples of parents to the pupils linking the acquisition of Danish linguistic resources to social class relations and societal success and thereby illustrating how the reproduction of the institutionally framed ideology of monolingualism is a widespread notion that does not just shape official practices *in* school but goes beyond the classrooms as well.

In a somewhat similar study, Møller (2015) analyzes a case from a 9th grade class at the same public school. His study points to the same kind of enregisterment process (Agha 2005, 2007) as Karrebæk (2013) by involving examples from Danish public discourse in which individuals operating from various positions of privilege and power use their voices to reify the notion that Danish is the only valid means for achieving academic and societal success in the nation state of Denmark (Møller 2015: 111-112). His analyses then reveal how both pupils and teachers in a 9th grade classroom treat (although not necessarily deliberately as he makes sure to point out) various minority languages as having a low status i.e. as stripped of academic value by linking them to having a non-serious and non-important function in the classroom. Møller (2015: 117-119) therefore reaches a similar conclusion to Karrebæk (2013) arguing how the overarching public discursive enregisterment of non-Danish linguistic

repertoires and resources as devoid of any kind of institutional and academic value in the structural reality of Denmark is reproduced in the practices in the classroom of the public school.

Overall these ethnographic accounts of the linguistic practices of Copenhagen children and youth reaffirm a general sociolinguistic development in Denmark that is characterized by a strong linguistic homogenization and a dominating standard ideology (see e.g. Kristiansen & Jørgensen 2003, Pedersen 2009). The studies furthermore paint an image of the institutional reality of the Danish society as firmly embedded within an overarching discursive notion that uniformity and stability constitute the unmarked and “normal” societal state leaving little room for diversity within educational activities and thereby also constructing diversity itself as an obstacle towards achieving educational and societal success (see e.g. Holmen & Jørgensen 2010, Madsen et. al. 2016). As we know from other studies on language around educational activities (Kroskrity 2010: 192), such ideologies “[...] often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states” and therefore it is perhaps not surprising that the process described above is taking place in the Danish society. However, as my data from the private school show, a positive valorization of diversity *can* be observed in (at least some) Danish schools, or in specific, elite strands of it. Therefore we need to nuance the ongoing discussion of diversity in the Danish schools and thereby also the existing research that only sees its negative valorization by acknowledging that it is only particular *types* of diversity that are treated and hence understood to be problematic. As shown by Jasper’s (2009) and Blommaert (2011), the existence of two types of multilingualism with very different valorizations is not at all a new phenomenon in a European context (see also Fishman 1967, Heller 1999). In proposing a distinction between *prestigious* and *plebeian multilingualism*, Jaspers (2009: 19) relates European multilingualism to ideological notions of utilitarianism and purity. He describes prestigious multilingualism as the “pure” and institutionally appreciated multilingual repertoire that is acquired mostly through school and thus associated with nobility and bourgeoisie i.e. a high social status. He then opposes it to plebeian multilingualism which entails the multilingual repertoires of the socially inferior, agricultural or urban social classes who acquire their repertoires through informal channels and thus based more on utilitarian considerations than on philological ones (see also Berthoud et. al. 2013: 414-415). By drawing this distinction between two differently valorized types of multilingualism, Jaspers (2009) illustrates how the acquisition and usage of multilingual repertoires are

inherently tied to social class relations. This is what makes the distinction useful to this study and thereby also to the debate concerning diversity in the Danish schools, because it allows us to explain the practices at the private school vs. the practices at the public school by describing them as two different *types* of multilingualism. It thereby also encourages us to view the valorizations of the two as connected to socio-economic developments in Denmark and Western Europe and in the last paragraph of this study; this is what I will try to do.

Neoliberalism, diversity and social stratification

As argued by Block & Gray (2016), the educational programs in today's societies are to a large extent framed in terms of economic exchange. So "[...] while an area like education continues to have as its prime function the socialization of children to the norms and ways of dominant society through control and disciplining of the content of a range of knowledge domains [...], the ways in which it is planned, delivered and evaluated come to resemble (or, in effect, they are the same as) those which apply in the private sector" (Block & Gray 2016: 483). Of course, this only works as a general view if we keep in mind that education is never a completely homogenized field and that there always exists ongoing contestation as well as competing discourse regarding the aims and ideological foundations of education. Nevertheless, there is a general tendency within the contemporary educational programs to reinforce a model that views language(s) as purely instrumental and thus separated from social context and which thereby valorizes the acquisition of language skills solely in relation to *market value*. In the light of this study, these (more or less) global circumstances are of course relevant to weigh in seeing how we might explain what is going on at the private school vs. what is going on in the Danish public schools as related to a common political and ideological sense of which kinds of cultural and linguistic resources are considered valuable in today's (Western) society. In this way, we could argue that the private school is able to implement a multicultural approach to their teaching programs simply because they can "afford" to do so by investing in the types of languages (and cultures) that carry market value in the Western society such as French, Spanish and English rather than for instance Arabic, Turkish and Urdu. This once again speaks to what was touched upon in the introduction and to what is one of the main arguments of this study, namely that the widespread discourse on diversity in the Danish schools houses a layer of social class that links up with economic interests and ideological notions of which resources are valuable (for our society) to invest in. Needless to say, Arabic, Urdu and Turkish

linguistic resources do not qualify as valuable in this (cynical) equation and seeing how the social value of language does not feature in the equation either as shown by Block & Gray (2016), the fact that these languages carry great personal value as home languages for what is actually a rather large part of the pupil population in Denmark becomes a non-argument. The value is in the market and the market is formed and upheld by the economic interests of the globalized Western society. So whereas French, Spanish and English are linked to discourses of cosmopolitan elite education possibilities and socio-economic success, Arabic, Turkish and Urdu carry no value at all. And to a Danish educational system that is very much anchored in the globalized Western society and economy, this means that such non-Western backgrounds instead are linked to an entirely different discourse of ethno-cultural difference and societal disorder and incoherence. This illustrates how the two cultural models forming different pupil identities in focus in this study, although they both involve aspects of bi- and multilingualism, are substantially different in the way they are valorized in both an institutional and societal perspective. The two models thereby also illustrate how being bi- or multilingual is not *a priori* a constraint towards educational and socio-economic success; instead it is tied up on ideological notions of what constitutes valuable resources in a (neoliberal) economically framed market system and what does not, and in this way my study reveals important ties between contemporary ethno-cultural diversity, multilingualism and social class relations. On these grounds, I align with the assumption that multilingualism is uniquely tied to social class relations (Heller 1999, Jaspers 2009, Blommaert 2011). In a Danish perspective, it is therefore pivotal that we widen and nuance our understanding and approach to the important topic of diversity in the contemporary schools by allowing such relations as well as perspectives such as the marketization of language education (Block & Gray 2016) feature as an integral aspect if we wish to advance in our discussions about schooling and educational challenges in today's society.

Article 4

The symbolic organization of languages in a high prestige school

(Co-authored by Lian Malai Madsen)

Introduction

While it has been argued that the impact of educational institutions on societal inequalities and opportunities is limited (Moore 2007, Jaspers & Madsen 2016, Jaspers 2017), institutional responses to linguistic diversity still play an important part in constructing links between linguistic repertoires, social hierarchies and prestige. Recent studies show, for instance, that the symbolic organization of different language use in and around educational practices, to a large extent, reproduces wider patterns of social stratification (Collins 2015, Jaspers 2014). Collins (2015) investigates how linguistic diversity is dealt with through the everyday enactment and articulation of language policy and ideologies in an English medium primary school in Cape Town. He illustrates how the teachers at the school implicate a stratified nature of English when they distinguish appropriate types from less appropriate in their judgements of students' linguistic skills, and on the basis of his analyses he urges fellow scholars to reach a better understanding of "[...] how economic and educational inequality map onto varieties of language, reproducing language hierarchies in which a few varieties are valued and the majority devalued" (Collins 2015: 21). Jaspers (2014) reaches a similar conclusion in his study of how the linguistic friction in a Dutch medium school in Brussels is dealt with through a teacher's stylization practices. He finds that mixed, accented and non-Dutch language use is assigned to the margins of school activities and he concludes that the teacher and the pupils thereby are "co-operating in identifying the daily language use of the pupils as non-elite in a socially stratified society" (Jaspers 2014: 390). Such studies demonstrate that we can learn more about how social stratification is experienced and enacted (and also often reproduced) by investigating the symbolic and ideological organization of language in different educational settings. In its turn, such knowledge can reveal important insights into the interplay between on the one hand institutional investments in (certain) linguistic norms, competences and practices, and on the other hand the pupils' individual investments which then allows us to discuss how such interplays map on to sociolinguistic economies of wider currency.

In Denmark, official approaches to linguistic diversity and the language ideological beliefs among pupils in urban public schools are well described (e.g. Madsen 2013, Karrebæk 2013, Madsen et al. 2016). In everyday communication, young people use a wide range of linguistic resources for different purposes, but the hierarchical ideological order is clear across institutional and mundane settings: Standard Danish dominates when it comes to achieving or signaling educational and professional success (e.g. Karrebæk 2013, Madsen 2016, Stæhr & Madsen 2017). However, we know little about the symbolic organization of language in linguistically diverse educational environments with more upscale socio-economic positions (but see Nørreby 2017). International private schools, for instance, with prestigious reputations are no less linguistically and culturally diverse than other urban schools due to their international status, the pupil population and the language of instruction being different from the national majority language. However in these settings, we would perhaps expect to find a sociolinguistic ordering different from that of the urban public schools. Such schools are at once concerned with academic prestige *and* with multilingualism as a valuable resource. The question is how this plays out linguistically. How do these concerns relate to the everyday management of linguistic purity and hybridity? And how are some forms of multilingualism or types of linguistic diversity possibly positioned as more valuable than others?

To investigate this further, we have carried out a linguistic and ethnographic study in a French/Danish prestigious private school in Copenhagen, and in this chapter, we examine explicit and implicit beliefs about language and linguistic diversity as they are expressed and enacted among teachers and pupils. In addition, we discuss these in relation to dominating language regimes and patterns of social stratification in the wider Danish society, as well as in relation to how we have seen such beliefs being (re)produced in urban public school contexts in previous research (e.g. Madsen et. al. 2016). As we will show, multi-monolingualism norms are generally dominating within formal educational activities at the private school. Officially, this school invests heavily in the acquisition of multilingual and multicultural repertoires (Nørreby forthcoming b) while still maintaining a normative policy that requires the pupils to use only one language at the time. The pupils show an awareness of and sensitivity to sociolinguistic indexicalities of wider currency in the Danish society, but their way of relating to and using linguistic hybridity differs from what we have observed in public schools and leisure contexts by being highly marked and treated mainly as a prop for having fun and thus as something not to be seriously invested

in (see also Nørreby 2017). Furthermore, we show how standard Danish has a very different status in this school from what we know to be the case in Danish educational settings more generally, and we argue that the symbolic organization of linguistic resources and variation in this context thereby does not straightforwardly reproduce wider patterns of social stratification in the Danish society.

Enregisterment and register contrasts

Like Collins and Jaspers' work cited above, our study is informed by Agha's theory of register formations and enregisterment (Agha 2005, 2007). This framework captures how we display and enact social functions of language by talking about and employing linguistic resources in particular ways. It explains how ways of speaking come to point to, or index (Ochs 1992, Silverstein 2003), ways of being and acting, because they are repeatedly used in certain types of situations by certain types of speakers or talked about or parodied with different alignments and degrees of investment. Through such everyday social activities, particular signs get linked to particular behaviors and values forming what Agha (2007: 78) labels "a cultural construct". Once such a construct has a recognizable reality to a certain group of people, the continuous use of the links between sign, behavior and value might expand the familiarity and understanding of these links and make them more widely known and thereby also more widely accessible for other people to draw on. Since such processes are guided by reflexive human activity, the spread and uptake of linguistic registers also entail re-analyses and reconfigurations of the indexical links which might result in changes in the perception and understanding of them as cultural constructs. This means that whenever we engage in semiotic activity and link certain sign-forms to wider cultural models, involving, for instance, certain social identities, we participate in (re-)shaping these models. In this way, prevalent and stereotypical indexical meanings of linguistic or other semiotic forms can be brought about in interaction for situational purposes by either reproducing wider circulating symbolic value ascriptions *or* by challenging these. Either way, the employment of various resources continuously contributes to their enregisterment, and thereby the enregisterment process is never final but inherently ongoing.

While all language users contribute to enregisterment of the language forms they use, institutions like schools play a significant and powerful part in such processes not least through the symbolic organization of language forms and linguistic practices e.g. treating some as more and others as less

academically relevant. Likewise, educational institutions are crucial to the maintenance and promotion of standard language registers and ideologies (e.g. Lippi-Green 1997), and the reinforcement of the standard registers as the academically appropriate language use often involves ascribing other registers a symbolically contrasting non-standard position, such as, for instance, those registers labeled ‘slang’. Agha (2015: 306) defines slang as “an ideological framework for reasoning about language that defines a class of deviant registers of language”. He further argues that this ideological framework “is strengthened when a given speech variety comes increasingly to acquire the status of a baseline register, a standard in relation to which others are normatively evaluated as deviant or substandard” (Agha 2015: 306). As Agha (2015: 312) notes, slang as a register type can only be identified at a value boundary, and negative evaluations of slang are institutionalised in standard oriented-practices such as schooling, which formulate slang as sub-standard language or vulgar. In the context of the French school that we will now turn to, interestingly, such negative evaluations of particular registers as academically irrelevant, vulgar etc. did not only apply to informal ‘slang’ registers; as we will argue, (standard) Danish appeared to be enregistered in a ‘slang’ position as well.

Methodology, field and data

In our study, we employ the methodology of linguistic ethnography (Rampton et. al. 2004, Copland & Creese 2015) which means that we base our insights on a combination of micro-level analyses of recorded interaction and ethnographic observations and discuss these in relation to aspects of the wider socio-historical context. With the focus on the symbolic organization of languages of this chapter, this means that we look into episodes documented in recordings or field diaries where particular linguistic practices are typified more or less explicitly, and we discuss these in relation to dominating language ideologies of wider currency in Danish educational environments and among youth in other school settings. The data we attend to were collected as part of an almost two year-long ethnography at the school in focus and in the following we describe the details of our effort and provide the reader with a description of the field site and our data in more detail.

The French school is named after a member of the Danish royal family. It was founded in 1954 and has been driven as a private school partly within the framework of the Danish Ministry of Education and partly within the framework of the Agency for French Education Abroad ever since. As the name

signals with its associations to royalty, the school belongs to the upper part of the Danish education hierarchy. The school is branded on its website as “a multicultural school which offers good possibilities for each pupil through innovative teaching in a French-Danish context” (our translation). It offers teaching from *maternelle* (Eng: nursery school) up to matriculation and it provides the pupils with the possibility of taking a Danish-French *Baccalauréat (DFB)* which is recognized in both countries and which according to the website “qualifies the pupils for advanced education in France, Denmark, other European countries, and everywhere in the world”. However, it is also specifically stated that “Danish language, culture and societal relations are included in the curriculum in accordance with the school’s legal Danish status”. The pupil population of the school consists of both pupils with French or French-speaking heritage backgrounds and of pupils from families with no immediate French cultural or linguistic background who may have chosen the school for its educational elite status or based on perhaps international cosmopolitan aspirations (see also Nørreby 2017). The pupils with French-speaking parents have various national and ethnic family backgrounds beyond France, but the school in its categorization of the pupils still emphasizes the French/Danish divisions as we can see on this table from the webpage (our translation).

	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17
Pupils	761	801	830	855	850
Maternelle-school	166	167	167	180	163
1 st -5 th grade	333	350	344	342	356
College 6 th .9 th grade	185	200	232	236	242
Gymnasium (high school)	77	84	87	97	89
French pupils	26%	27%	28%	28%	31%
Danish pupils	24%	24%	22%	21%	21%
French-Danish pupils	35%	36%	36%	36%	33%

	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17
Others	14%	13%	14%	15%	15%
Classes	35	37	38	39	39

In the 6ième class in which we carried out our ethnographic field work, the majority of the 23 pupils (thirteen) had one parent born in France and one born in Denmark. The rest of the pupils had parents born in a variety of places and two had parents who were both born and raised in Denmark. So the general picture was that the participants had at least one Danish speaking parent, and as we learned from our interviews this meant that almost all of the pupils in this class considered Danish to be the language that they used the most and thereby also the language with which they were most familiar. This corresponded well with the linguistic behavior we observed as we will illustrate when we return to the participants' linguistic repertoires below.

School and classroom culture

We started our field work in the spring of 2015 in a CM2 class which is the last class in *L'école* (primary school) with the pupils being at the age of 10 and 11. This class was then split into two different classes after the summer when they were enrolled into 6ième, the first class of *Le Collège* (secondary school). When going from primary to secondary school, the classes are split up and regrouped which means that not everyone from the CM2 class that we followed was enrolled into the same 6ième class. We therefore chose to follow the 6ième class that included the largest group of the pupils who were also part of the CM2 class. We concluded our ethnography in the summer of 2017 after having collected a substantial amount of data. Our collection consists of field notes, interviews with the participants in groups and an interview with the school principal and a main teacher, three teacher interviews as well as 65 hours of recordings predominantly in school during classes and breaks, but also a few from the pupils' homes as well as one from a whole day of leisure activities recorded by one of the main participants of our study.

Apart from the re-grouping of the classes mentioned above, we witnessed several other notable structural differences between primary school and secondary school. In primary school for instance,

one class had one primary teacher and almost all of the teaching took place in the same classroom whereas in secondary school the teachers were specialized in one or a few course subjects and the class moved around to different rooms assigned for the different subjects. In our interviews, the pupils described this change as initially challenging and stressful, but also as positive because it created variation and short breaks in the school day. They did also express concern about arriving at the right place at the right time because of the very strict discipline that was dominating the classroom culture in secondary school (with some exceptions, as we will demonstrate). The strict discipline became evident when pupils for instance were late for classes or if they had failed to do their homework and they would be punished by being sent to the administration office to fill in a note or to the study hall to do individual school assignments. In 6ième, the classes usually started with the teacher opening the door and allowing the pupils to enter. In an orderly and calm manner the pupils then found their desks, placed their bags next to their table, took off their coats etc. (all of this swiftly and silently) and stood behind their chairs (still in complete silence) until the teacher said: “*Bonjour à tous*” (hello everybody) to which the pupils replied in unison “*Bonjour Monsieur/Madame*” (hello sir/Madame) and then the teacher allowed them to sit down. Apart from in the Danish classes (and we will return to this), the pupils were, compared to our experiences in other schools, remarkably silent during teacher-focused classroom discussions and generally calm and focused on their tasks. They often discussed marks, explained in the interviews that they (and sometimes their parents as well) found it important to do well, and on several occasions we observed some of the participants cry if they, for instance, had forgotten their books or had not finished their homework as described in this field note from one of our visits:

When I arrive at the hall I can see that Anna is upset. She is crying and some of the other girls are comforting her. I ask if she is ok and she tells me that she has forgotten her English file at home, but that Simon (who lives close by) is picking it up for her.

(Field note LMM 20.04.16)

According to some of the participants, a significant reason for being concerned with doing well in school was that if one's grades were not up to a certain standard one could risk having to redo the same class and thereby not get to progress with the classmates. In this way, academic success seemed closely

intertwined with social peer relationships in the sense that it was hard to invest socially in an anti-school position if you wanted to actually stay in the social community. As a result, the pupils in general were investing a great deal of effort into performing well academically.

Linguistic repertoires

That almost all of the pupils in the class we studied had a preference for Danish, was clearly reflected in their language proficiency which was stronger in Danish than in French. Their Danish pronunciation was mostly near-standard, though they often used prepositions and pronouns in a non-standard way. For instance, they would consequently say “sin far” (his father) instead of “hans far” in syntactical constructions in which it, according to standard grammar rules, would be deemed incorrect (most likely influenced by the French pronouns “son” and “sa”). The pupils’ own evaluations of their French competences were often self-critical, as Magnus for instance claimed to “suck at French”. Their French teacher would often reaffirm this image by criticizing the pupils’ French competences in relation to both their oral and written production by for instance referring to a boy’s production during class as “français made in Denmark”. Certainly to our ears, most of the participants’ spoken French appeared distinctly Danish accented. The pupils’ English was at a very high level for their age and this was the English teacher’s evaluation as well. In addition to these national language registers of French, Danish and English that were by far the most frequently used, we occasionally heard features of Arabic, Camfranglais, Danish urban vernacular and French slang features. The use of such features, though, was predominantly reserved for peer interaction outside the classroom and it was not all the pupils in the class that would use them.

Multi-monolingual ideologies and linguistic hierarchies

The general pattern in the language classes was that the target language was the only language used. In most French and English classes, we observed different language policing practices such as the English teacher asking a question in English and adding “no French no Danish” which was a reoccurring comment. Likewise, during a French lesson in the library where the pupils had to work on dictionary exercises in pairs, the teacher at several points, as a reaction to the pupils’ choice of language, exclaimed: “*je ne veux pas entendre de danois (.) parlez une vraie langue, quoi*” (I don’t want to hear any Danish speak a real language all right). Later, he repeated “*pas de danois pas de danois*” (no

Danish no Danish), and, finally, towards the end of the lesson he threatened the pupils: “*je vous entends et je vous le dis clairement si je vous entends parler encore une seule fois danois vous m’en copiez cinquante fois je ne dois pas parler danois puis viendrez pas pleurer*” (I’m hearing you and I tell you clearly if I hear you speak Danish one more time you have to copy fifty times for me I mustn’t speak Danish and then don’t come crying).

The French teacher’s teaching style was generally characterized by explicit linguistic norm enforcement both with respect to literacy activities and spoken French. The pupils’ pronunciation was corrected, sometimes deemed too Danish and they were explicitly taught about different style levels and required to speak sufficiently formal. Yet, it was not the case that these ideologies of linguistic purity governed all practices in the language classrooms. Occasionally, the French teacher asked what a term was called in English or Danish (although this often seemed like a result of our presence as Danish researchers), and in the English class, pupils were sometimes allowed to turn to Danish or French if they did not know a particular term in English. However, this was usually when the traditional frame of teacher-led instruction and IRE-dialogue was loosened, such as when they sat on the floor in a circle freely discussing a book they were reading or when they left that classroom to engage in activities outside. We also observed the English teacher engage in stylization and code-switching in moments of jocular exchange. One of these occasions is described in the following field note:

Lisa is in rare form. She seems almost jubilant. Her reaction to the fact that David K. has forgotten his paper at home is very illustrative. Instead of the usual ‘you know the price right?’ she acknowledges his oversight with a ‘baaad baaad boy – you’re a baaad baaad boy David’. He seems confused by this and even more so by Lisa now addressing him (and the others) in German: ‘Haben sie? Nein? and ‘was sagst du?’. It is not until she ‘switches’ back to English ‘are we good?’, that he and a few others respond with a careful ‘yes’.

(Field note TRN 25.04.16)

We saw another example of language mixing in an English lesson where a Spanish teacher, Mabel, and her pupils from 4^{ème} (two grade above 6^{ème}) were on a visit to promote Spanish classes to the 6^{ème} pupils who at that point in time were close to choosing which elective courses to take in 5^{ème}².

Excerpt 1 : C'est une grande partie, vale?

Mabel (Mab), Un-identified pupil (pup)

01 Mab:	mais j'ai oublié un xxx	Mab:	but I have forgotten one xxx
02	quelqu'un peut me dire lequel		can someone tell me which
03	un xxx très grand		a xxx very big
04 Pup:	xxx	Pup:	xxx
05 Mab:	es muy grande	Mab:	it is very big
06 Pup:	Rusland†	Pup:	Russia†
07 Mab:	no ((fniser))	Mab:	no ((giggles))
08 Pup:	the American states of	Pup:	the American states of
09	America		America
10	sometimes <Mab: eh>		sometimes <Mab: eh>
11 Mab:	or sometimes† sometimes†	Mab:	or sometimes† sometimes†
12	many(!) times		many(!) times
13	si se hablan mucho español eh		yes they speak a lot of
14	en Estados Unidos dans les		Spanish in The United States
15	États-Unis xxx porque		The United States xxx because
16	ça n'est pas tout le monde		it is not everyone
17	mais c'est une grande partie		but it is a big part
18	vale†		okay†

The excerpt lasts around 24 seconds and the interaction consists of a total of 7 turns, and yet it involves words associated with no less than four languages (French, Spanish, Danish and English). And as we can tell, it is both the teacher and the pupils who participate in the language mixing. The practices here do contrast with the school's more common ideological approach to what language is used which require the pupils to always stick to one language at a time. However, as was also the case with Lisa's

² This excerpt is also treated in Nørreby (forthcoming)

jocular reaction to David missing his book, the session as a whole, in which Mabel in an English class talks in Spanish and French about taking Spanish classes, constitutes an unusual occasion compared to how classes ordinarily play out. So even though language mixing is incorporated into the teaching session, the framing of such practices as rare and jocular still seemed to confirm pure monolingual practices as the norm for serious and academic conduct.

The positioning of Danish

Interestingly, not all national language registers at the school seemed to be equally valued. Going back to the French teacher's way of policing the use of Danish in the French class by requesting that the pupils instead spoke a "real language", there seemed to be a general tendency at the school to ascribe Danish a relatively low status. Implying that Danish is not "a real language", was not at all the only example of the French teacher's different valorization of French and Danish. In one of the classes, for instance, he commented on Pierre's wrong endings in a conjugation exercise: "*Il n'y a jamais de 't' à la première personne*" (there is never a 't' in the first person) and finished with a Danish utterance marked by exaggerated distinctness and high volume: "*husk det*" (remember this) using the marked distinct intonation to indexically invoke an association between speaking Danish and being linguistically incompetent (and maybe even a bit stupid). A little later during the same class, Youssef was criticized for pronouncing 't' in a "Danish" way and the teacher demonstrated with a stylized Danish accented "*tais toi*" (shut up) drawing yet again on the same indexical image of Danish being associated with primitiveness and stupidity. Interestingly, in both cases the pupils were highly amused by the French teacher's utterances and they generally expressed great appreciation for this teacher who combined strict discipline, high academic demands and normative linguistic pedagogy with plenty of humor. Still, his tendency to only make Danish relevant in class as a means for underlining mistakes and as a cause for jocular ridicule, placed Danish solidly at the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy in regard to *in class* activities.

Another aspect of the symbolic positioning of Danish in this school environment was the Danish lessons themselves and notably the pupils' attitudes towards Danish as a school subject. The Danish lessons were strikingly different from all other lessons we observed. Especially the noise level and the casual atmosphere stood out, but also the more liberal approach to what kind of language use was

acceptable in schoolwork was characteristic. In the excerpt below from one of the Danish lessons, the pupils have read “The Sweathearts” by H.C. Andersen and they are asked to imagine what the ball would say if a mirror was held in front of it after it had been left in the gutter for years. The sequence begins with their Danish teacher, Søren, clarifying what they are expected to write.

Excerpt 2: Can we write *oh my God*?

Søren (Sør), Celine (Cel), un-identified boy (Boy), Marie (Mar), Pierre (Pie)	
01 Sør: shh aj I skal ikke ø:h (.)	Sør: shh ah you shouldn't e:h (.)
02 prøv lige at lyt fordi	just try to listen because
03 I har ikke helt	you have not quite
04 forstået åbenbart	understood apparently
05 ((larm fra snak og	((ongoing noise from talk and
06 nynnen i klasserummet))	humming around the classroom))
07 I skal ikke skrive en(.)	you should not write a (.)
08 <lyt>	<listen>
09 Cel: jeg har forstået Søren	Cel: I got it Søren
10 Sør: ja men så øh så tier man bare	Sør: yes but then eh then you just
11 stille (.)og går I gang↓	stay quiet (.)and start↓
12 I skal sådan set I skal	you should not actually you
13 ikke skrive en histor↑ie	should not write a sto↑ry
14 I skal ligesom skrive hvad	you have to like write what
15 vil den sige til sig selv	would it tell itself
16 hvis den man den lige	if it one it
17 forestiller sig lige	just imagines just
18 pludselig får et spejl sat op	suddenly has a mirror put up
19 Boy: <må vi gerne skrive nye	Boy: <are we allowed to write new
20 navne og ord>	names and words>
21 Sør: <xxx>	Sør: <xxx>
22 ja I behøver ikke skrive	yes you do not have to write
23 øh gammeldags	eh old-fashioned
24 Mar: må vi gerne skrive	Mar: can we write
25 oh my God [pron: gød]	oh my God [pron: gød]
26 Pie: oh my Go:d [pron: gø:d]	Pie: oh my Go:d [pron: gø:d]
27 ((forvrænget stemme))	((distorted voice))
28 Boy: oh my God [pron: god]	Boy: oh my God [pron: god]

29 Boy: oh my f'ing God [pron: god] | Boy: oh my f'ing God [pron: god]

In the situation (and this was also the case in general during Danish lessons), there is constant talk among the pupils about a lot of topics unrelated to the work at hand. We see how the teacher hushes at the beginning and how he is interrupted by Celine (line 9) when he tries to explain the assignment. After the explanation, one of the boys asks if it is ok to write “new names and words” (lines 19-20) and when it is confirmed that they do not have to write “old-fashioned” (lines 22-23), supposedly referring to the style of writing in the fairytale, Marie asks if they are allowed to write “oh my God”. “Oh my God” was a frequently used expression by the pupils but mainly it was used in peer to peer interaction outside the classroom. In all likelihood, this explains why the expression in this situation attracts particular attention as we can see the expression repeated by others with different marked pronunciations (line 26-29). The indexical association to peer talk is furthermore underlined in the last utterance in which one of the boys carefully incorporates a swear word in his utterance. When the pupils read aloud their answers a while later, some of them have used the expression “oh my God” and this is accepted by the teacher.

When we talked to the participants about the differences between the Danish lessons and the French and English lessons, they characterized their Danish teacher as less strict and related this as well as the casual atmosphere to a perception of Danish schools in general. Youssef, for instance, claimed in the interview that the pupils at the Danish schools “*speak ugly*” and implied that this is accepted by the teachers. Celine also characterized the classroom culture in Danish schools as rather different from that in the private school saying that: “[...] *in Danish schools there [...] it's not as quiet as [...] when they have Danish than when we have French then I think it's more quiet*”. The lack of seriousness in relation to Danish was also linked to a lack of academic challenge by David who claimed to “*know it all*”. Together these practices and articulated beliefs seemed to place Danish at the bottom of the linguistic academic hierarchy, but at the same time Danish was the preferred language of the pupils in all informal interactions.

Danish can of course be spoken in a variety of ways. Based on previous research in linguistically and culturally diverse contexts, we would expect that the young people with linguistic repertoires covering

a range of resources from different national languages would combine these in their informal interactions. Møller (2009) and Jørgensen (2010), for instance, document how Turkish-Danish children habitually and frequently combine Turkish and Danish (and other linguistic features) in innovative *poly-languaging*. Likewise, young people in the urban public schools we have studied, employ features from Arabic, Turkish, English and Spanish to mention but a few of the sources in their casual otherwise Danish-based speech, and this linguistic hybridity has itself (in combination with a number of non-standard phonetic, grammatical and morphological features) become a key characteristic of the contemporary urban vernacular in Copenhagen by some of its users referred to as “street language” (Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014, Madsen et al. 2016, Nørreby 2017). However, apart from widely popular youth slang expressions like ‘swag’ and ‘oh my God’, the spoken Danish used by the participants in our study – also in casual, informal conversation with peers – appeared to be predominantly near to standard. French was used with peers with preference for French and we observed conversations unproblematically carried out with one interlocutor speaking Danish and another speaking French. School-related vocabulary would be used in French within otherwise Danish utterances, but we did not observe the kind of habitual and creative poly-languaging or the frequent use of “street language” as we have seen among Turkish-Danish children and youth as well as in the urban public school. When the participants in our study at rare occasions did engage in creative mixing or used features of the contemporary urban vernacular, it was highly marked rather than habitual.

Before we conclude, we shall consider two different examples of these rare occasions. The first example illustrates a marked blending of French and Danish and the second excerpt shows how a particular group of boys play with features and stereotypic indexical values of the contemporary urban vernacular in Copenhagen.

Linguistic hybridity in peer practices

The episode illustrated in excerpt 3 occurs during a break when some of the pupils are playing a collective ping pong game in the school yard (‘around the table’). Marie has just been eliminated but then she claims that it was Chloé’s jacket that caused her to miss her shot.

Excerpt 3: Just continue with the boys

Marie (Mar), Chloé (Chl), Pierre (Pie), Anna (Ann), Magnus (Mag)

01 Mar:	Chloé din <Pie: xxx>	Mar:	Chloé your <Pie: xxx>
02	øh jakke var der		eh jacket was there
03 Chl:	ja men xxx	Chl:	yes but xxx
04 Mar:	ja	Mar:	yes
05 Chl:	gjorde den det	Chl:	did it do that
06 Pie:	dyuuuu (!)	Pie:	dyuuuu (!)
07 Mar:	du var der	Mar:	you were there
08 Pie:	xxx	Pie:	xxx
09 Mar:	nej	Mar:	no
10 Chl:	no	Chl:	no
11 Ann:	bare continue [pron: på	Ann:	just continue [pron: in French]
12	fransk] med drengene		with the boys
13 Mar:	ja	Mar:	yes
14 Pie:	okay vi continuer [pron:	Pie:	okay we continue [pron: in French]
15	på fransk med dansk		with a Danish conjugation
16	bøjningsendelse] mand uh		ending] man uh
17 Mag:	okay	Mag:	okay
18 Mar:	nej	Mar:	nej
19 Mag:	vi continuer [pron: på	Mag:	we continue [pron: in French]
20	fransk med dansk bøjning]		with a Danish conjugation]
21	(.) hov [pron: ov]		(.) hov [pron: ov]
22	det var sgu da xxx		that was freaking xxx
23 All:	((griner))	All:	((laugh))
24 Pie:	deux xxx	Pie:	two xxx
25 Mar:	nej fordi det var	Mar:	no because it was
26 Chl:	jo du	Chl:	yes you
27 Mar:	<i>gêne</i>	Mar:	<i>gêne</i>
	FRA-DK: fejl		FRA-ENG: foul
28 Chl:	nej der var ikke <i>gêne</i>	Chl:	there was no <i>gêne</i>
29 Mar:	jo	Mar:	yes
30 Mag:	ej jeg er lige ved at	Mag:	hey I am just about to
31	continue [pron: med et /u/		continue [pron: with a /u/
32	til slut] ik		at the end] ik
33	så nu stopper du		so please stop it now

34 All: ((griner))

| All: ((laugh))

As we can see, Pierre, Marie and Chloé use French expressions for a number (*deux/two*) (line 24) and for a game-related practice (*gêne*) used for calling foul in line 21. These expressions used in relation to the game appear unmarked in comparison to the use of ‘continue’ in Anna’s utterance in lines 11-12 which causes quite a reaction and is repeated by several co-participants with different pronunciations. For instance, Pierre combines it with Danish grammar and a characteristic Danish idiomatic expression “*mand*” (*man*) (lines 14-16). By doing so, Pierre responds in a jocular manner to Anna’s mix of Danish and French and thereby implicitly characterizes such linguistic practices as laughable. That Magnus also takes part in the ridiculing, underlines how this type of hybrid language usage attracts special attention among this group of children.

In the last excerpt of this chapter, Samuel together with two boys from his parallel class engages in ritual insults revolving around linguistic features with indexical meanings associated with the above-mentioned “street language” (e.g. Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014, Madsen et. al. 2016). Like the example above, excerpt 4 has also been recorded during a break and it starts with Samuel reacting to having accidentally stepped on his class mate, Guillaume’s, foot³.

Excerpt 4: Your mum is unpleasant

Samuel (Sam), Guillaume (Gui), Pascal (Pas), Alex (Ale)

01 Sam:	tråde jeg på dig↑	Sam:	did I stepped on you↑
02 Gui:	øh ja (.) lidt	Gui:	eh yes (.) a little bit
03 Sam:	for helvede jeg er dum (!)	Sam:	god damn it I am stupid
04	JEG <u>SVÆRGER</u> [stemt /s/] (!)		(!)I <u>SWEAR</u> [voiced /s/] (!)
05	det ikke var med vilje		it was not on purpose
06 Gui:	nej nej	Gui:	no no
07 Pas:	lad vær med at tro det	Pas:	do not believe it
08	okay↑		okay↑
09	xxx		xxx

³ This excerpt is also treated in Nørreby (2017)

10 Ale:	fuck hvor er jeg træt af ham	Ale:	fuck I am so sick of him
11 Sam:	skrid hjem <u>mand</u> [% stød]	Sam:	go home man [% glottal stop]
12 Pas:	xxx din mor er	Pas:	xxx your mom is
13	usympatisk		unpleasant
14 Sam:	lær at sige [stemt /s/]	Sam:	learn to say [voiced /s/]
15	bandeord		swear words

As a reaction to his mistake, Samuel loudly declares himself to be stupid (line 3). The loudness and self-targeted insult suggest that he aims for broader attention than Guillaume's. His subsequent utterance also points in this direction when he uses a voiced s-sound in "sværger" (swear) (lines 4-5) and pronounces it with an intonation characteristic of the contemporary urban vernacular. This register is stereotypically associated with toughness (e.g. Madsen 2013, Stæhr 2014, Hyttel-Sørensen 2017) but it also carries indexical threads to speaking (deficient) Danish with an accent and being incompetent and socially awkward (Nørreby 2017). Guillaume's "no no" (line 6) perhaps suggests that he interprets the change of volume as a sign of Samuel putting too much into his mistake. But then a boy from the other 6ième class, Pascal, enters the conversation and as the sequence continues, it becomes clear that it is taken as an invitation to engage in ritual insults (Labov 1972: 297) as Pascal's class mate, Alex, now declares to be sick of Samuel (line 10). By incorporating into his declaration the swear word "fuck", Alex aligns with Samuel's initial outburst by also invoking indexical associations to the street language register. After Samuel's reaction, telling Alex to go home (line 11), Pascal attempts a formulaic 'your mother'-insult (line 12). However, from the choice of "unpleasant" as the derogatory term it is quite clear that engaging in ritual insults in this way is not a habitual practice among these boys. That his effort is not judged successful, is also clear from Samuel's reaction when he urges the boy to learn how to swear (lines 14-15).

The episode turns into a longer sequence in which other features of the urban vernacular are used notably, 'eow' (originally a Kurdish expression equivalent to 'hey', Nørreby 2012) which leads to the comment 'he thinks he's Arab', and the insults 'go home' and 'shut up' are repeated several times making the boys break into laughter. The episode and the contextualization cues such as the laughter illustrate how the use of this register among these boys is stylized, performed and jocular rather than

with the sincere investment found among boys of a similar age in a public urban school (Karrebæk 2016, Nørreby 2017).

Conclusion

Processes of enregisterment resulting in register formation (Agha 2007) work as centripetal forces in Bakhtin's sense (Bakhtin 1981: 667–68) drawing features, structures, and norms towards a central unified point. Thereby they work in the direction of a code-model of language by contributing to the construction of a distinct register, characterised by particular linguistic forms, associated with certain stereotypic indexical values and given names such as 'real language', '(proper) French' (by teachers), 'contemporary urban vernacular' (by sociolinguists) or 'slang' and 'street language' (by adolescents). In our previous work on urban children and youth from socioeconomically less privileged backgrounds, we have found that standard Danish dominates in official discourse and academic activities. We have also found that these children and young people orient to an enregisterment of contrasting values associated with monolingual standard Danish and the hybrid urban vernacular (Madsen 2013, 2015, for similar binary indexicality contrasts of 'Posh' and 'Cockney' see Rampton 2006: Chapter 9). The stereotypic indexical values associated with the urban vernacular as a register hints at its wider sociolinguistic positioning. Associations with street-wisdom, norm transgression, casual peer relations and contrast to academic, polite and sophisticated practices point to a non-standard position of the register and the hybrid language use it involves (Madsen 2013, 2017). This makes the contrasting registers available for positioning in relation to, for instance, degrees of politeness, respect, academic ambitions and peer sociality, and we have seen how some of the adolescents apart from habitually using the contemporary urban vernacular in informal peer talk, also used this register to position themselves as less nerdy, but academically skilled pupils (e.g. Stæhr 2010, Nørreby 2012, Karrebæk 2013, Madsen 2015, Madsen et al. 2016, Stæhr & Madsen 2017).

However, in this French school the linguistic conditions are, of course, different and, as we have shown, so are the linguistic regimes. We have observed how the French and the English teacher enacted a particular symbolic organization of languages and linguistic diversity through overt corrective comments and policing of linguistic behavior as well as through their own linguistic practices – sticking to a standard version of the target language during serious academic activities and

saving code-switching and stylizations for less serious moments – and finally through jocular linguistic practices connecting Danish (or language mixing) to incompetence. On these grounds, we find that in this school multi-monolingual ideologies and occasional orderly inter-language comparison dominate official discourse and academic activities. In addition, French language is enregistered as associated with academic prestige, discipline, correctness and sophistication, and English language is likewise associated with academic prestige, but at times also with some youthful coolness (e.g. through slang). Danish, however, is positioned at the bottom of the academic hierarchy and enregistered as somewhat unsophisticated through the relation to incompetence, lack of discipline and informality, and this is understood by the participants in our study as characteristic of Danish schooling in general. The Danish teacher, of course, also oriented to correctness in the Danish lessons, but as we have shown, he displayed a more liberal attitude to non-standard slang and mixing as acceptable for academic task solving, and this, as well as the more informal atmosphere during the classes, also contributed to the general symbolic position(ing) of Danish language. Finally, we have shown how linguistic hybridity and the urban vernacular register are not framed as linked to sincere or unmarked investment, creativity and coolness, but are treated as remarkable and laughable linguistic practices by the pupils. Through their stylized use of the contemporary urban vernacular, however, the pupils still demonstrate that they are well aware of this register, its wider value ascriptions and position in the sociolinguistic order of speech styles in the Danish society.

The French school brands itself as a multicultural school and, as opposed to dominating ethnocentric perspectives impacting on educational discourses and policies in wider Danish society, cultural and linguistic diversity is explicitly seen as an asset (Nørreby forthcoming b). It is perhaps not surprising, though, that a prestigious academic institutional environment favors ideologies of linguistic purity and excellence which results in the multi-monolingualism ideologies and the dominance of standard French. In this respect, we must conclude that the organization of linguistic diversity at this school reproduces cultural and educational hierarchies (similar to what Collins and Jaspers find) and enforces investment in (particular) languages as separable, bounded and pure. The fact that the pupils treat divergence from linguistic purity and standard language as remarkable, and that they most of the time themselves seem to orient to multi-monolingualism norms in their habitual linguistic practices, confirm

these tendencies. The pupils' investment in such pure linguistic constructs is in tune with their general investment in performing well academically and as such not unexpected.

However, the low academic status of standard Danish is more surprising. The fact that the stereotypic indexical value ascriptions to standard Danish through the local enregisterment practices differ significantly in this context from how it is generally enregistered in Danish society and education, suggests a possible discrepancy between aiming for preparing pupils for further education also in Danish institutions and the positioning of Danish. It also leads to Danish being placed in an ambiguous position among the participants in our study. It is associated with low academic prestige, but still the preferred means of communication among the pupils and as such associated with some youth-cultural capital, although this group of young people is so highly invested in being academically successful. In fact, in this school environment near to standard Danish seems to serve functions similar to those that the urban vernacular register serves in the urban public schools. With the associations of informality, lack of discipline and low academic prestige, the symbolic position of Danish is not unlike that of 'slang' registers in Agha's (2015) sense and thereby, in this prestigious school characterized by linguistic diversity, the baseline standard in wider Danish society seems to be treated as the local 'slang'.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I set out to examine the use of language as a means for enacting social difference among two diverse groups of school children at two distinct schools in contemporary Copenhagen. I have done so by investigating the everyday communicative encounters of the pupils in and around school related activities and relating these to prevalent discourses on schooling and social stratification processes of wider currency. Even though my study deals with a limited part of Copenhagen's common pupil population by focusing on two distinct environments, it still raises important questions about linguistic and ethno-cultural diversity in the Danish schools. It does so by showing several examples of micro-level resistance, re-analyses and reconfigurations among the children in focus of otherwise well-established and predominant discursive understandings and images of these schools. For instance, it illustrates how there are many facets to (and many ways of) being bi- or multilingual and reveals how the links between ethnic background, linguistic behavior and educational opportunities that are continuously brought into focus in public debates on Danish schooling are both complex and subject to situated de- and re-constructions in the everyday practices of the pupils. Such findings are important because they reveal how existing approaches to contemporary pupil diversity often framed by prefabricated categories and divisions and based on interviews and surveys (e.g. Rambøll & Andersen 2010, Andersen et. al. 2012) are inadequate if we want to advance our understanding of today's diverse school environments. In this way, my study contributes with insights of wider relevance by illustrating through its methodological approach how tracing the individual experience of being a pupil in today's schools requires an ethnographic lens and a focus on micro-level practice (see also Rampton 2006, Madsen 2015). This final part of the dissertation should be read in this light. Here, I bring together the analytical insights and discussions of the four articles and address some of the broader perspectives of my study. First, I present the empirically motivated points of my study after which I discuss the theoretical contributions in relation to the field of interactional sociolinguistics. I then conclude with an outline of what I consider to be important impact perspectives related to my findings.

Empirical findings

The analyses presented in this dissertation show how the Copenhagen children in focus are well aware of the existence of dimensions of stratification in the contemporary Danish society. Articles 1 and 2 illustrate how they actively exploit these stratified structures for social positioning on scales of in vs.

out, competent vs. incompetent and high social status vs. low social status as a way of dealing with the diversity that has become an integral part of their everyday life. In article 1, the aspect of social stratification is related to identity belonging when the children employ labels of “araber” and “perker” as designators for social roles characterized by social and educational deficiencies and a general failure to live up to the common institutional demands of the school. In article 2, the element of stratification is made relevant in relation to the sociolinguistic order of speech styles that are brought to the fore through two stylization performances carried out by Selda and Samuel respectively. Through their performances, Selda and Samuel invoke indexical links between the use of certain linguistic and semiotic features (associated with “learner Danish” and “street language”) and laughable and undesirable identities of a low social (and societal) status. Together, these two articles, along with article 4, show how the children at both schools have a finely tuned sense of the stratified nature of the Danish sociolinguistic economy and for recognizing how this economy links up with social status differences, prestige and hierarchical orders of wider societal currency. They thereby also illustrate how such structures of power relations and inequality constitute important elements in the pupils’ experiences and understandings of both their local environments and of the contemporary society at large. Apart from this, articles 1 and 2 reveal a common understanding across the two school environments of the indexical associations between the use of an affricated and palatalized t-pronunciation, a strange accent, swear words and language mixing and the stereotypical indexical values of a low social status by being for instance incompilant, unserious, potentially violent and ill-behaved (see also Madsen 2013). Seeing how the private school constitutes an environment with obvious upper class associations, this is of course interesting because it shows that the use of such features, although generally associated with lower social strata, also plays a part in the repertoires of Copenhagen children with socio-economically privileged backgrounds. This furthermore speaks to the widespread nature of features associated with street language in today’s society and to the important impact that this register (Agha 2005, 2007) has on the general sociolinguistic development in the Danish society (see also Stæhr & Madsen 2017) which leads me to my next point.

As I have shown, and also dealt with explicitly in articles 1 and 3, the prevalent narrative in Danish public discourses on schooling that links having a non-Danish/non-Western background to being educationally unsuccessful has a profound impact on the ways in which contemporary school children

understand and identify themselves and each other. In their linguistic practices, the participants of this study continuously reproduce (and also re-arrange) this discourse by treating the use of certain linguistic and prosodic resources as emblematic of a low social status. The identities that these actions invoke and the discursive positionings (Davies & Harré 1990) that they involve, even though they are referred to through different labels, all revolve (to some degree at least) around the same dichotomy of bilinguals vs. non-bilinguals. Through their actions, the pupils at both schools draw on this widespread *cultural construct* (Agha 2007: 78) that links together having a non-Western ethno-cultural background, using certain communicative features and being out of sync with the (Danish) norms and values on which the Danish school system is built. Interestingly, this is not just a tendency among the participants who have majority backgrounds. Even pupils who themselves would qualify as bilinguals in the predominant understanding of the label, reproduce such stereotypes and their primarily negative associations and characteristics. Such actions show how the pupils carry out local re-arrangements of macro-level discourses and understandings to obtain for instance more satisfying and privileged positions in the social status hierarchy. As described in article 1, the common tendency among the pupils at the public school to treat certain “ethnic” identities as emblematic of a failure to comply with the social norms and conventions of the school shares an interesting link to the public discursive narrative that projects non-Western identities as immediately incompatible with the Danish school system. Such actions, as mentioned above, illustrate the impact that public debates on diversity and schooling have on the ways in which school children relate to each other and view and understand themselves which brings me to my third and final point of this section.

A central finding in my dissertation is that the pupils treat certain “ethnic” identities as emblematic of a low social status. This is a testament to how the prevalent dichotomy in public discourses on Danish schooling of bilinguals vs. non-bilinguals (i.e. everyone else) is housing a (hidden) layer of social class relations. Although the layer is not immediately as apparent as that of ethnicity, it is an essential part of the indexical field of *bilinguals* which therefore makes it an element of critical importance to the overall discourse on Danish schooling. The social class relations are brought into play through the continuous reproduction of indexical links between being bilingual and causing problems for the Danish school system. This indexical reproduction makes the difference between bilinguals and non-bilinguals relevant on scales of compatible vs. incompatible, competent vs. incompetent, resourceful

vs. unresourceful seen primarily in relation to the Danish educational system. As described in article 3, we can use these perspectives to nuance previous research on contemporary schooling (e.g. Karrebæk 2013, Møller 2015, Madsen et. al. 2016) by pointing out how the prevalent tendency to treat linguistic diversity and multilingual repertoires as problematic and incompatible with the Danish school system does not concern multilingualism in general but merely certain *types* of multilingualism. This draws parallels to Jaspers' (2009) distinction between *prestigious* and *plebeian multilingualism* whose distinction furthermore provides a frame for explaining why the two types of multilingualism are unequally valorized by being indexically linked to an institutionally framed, Western European stratified sociolinguistic economy. The image of the unequal opportunities based on (among other things) linguistic heritage, links to Bourdieu's (1971, 1974, 1986) notions of *habitus* and *cultural capital*. In his theoretical accounts of how power is culturally and symbolically created through *habitus* i.e. a system of embodied dispositions which generate practice in accordance with the structural world, Bourdieu (1971) operationalizes schooling as a productive locus of a particular habitus which gives rise to "patterns of thought which organize reality by directing and organizing *thinking* about reality" (Bourdieu 1971: 194-195, cited in Nash 1990: 435). In this way, the school is theorized by Bourdieu (1971) as "[...] responsive to an intrinsically arbitrary class cultural code accepted at all levels of the educational system as an indication of receptivity ("readiness") to acquire school knowledge" (Nash 1990: 436). In other words, the school is described as an institution controlled by the socially and culturally dominant classes which is thereby inclined to ignore the habitus of children from non-dominant classes. This means that in (most) educational systems there are certain family backgrounds that entail great degrees of cultural, social and economic capital allowing certain *types* of individuals/pupils who have "roots" in these backgrounds to navigate naturally and freely through the system without major difficulties while pupils from non-dominant class backgrounds will be forced to put in a substantial amount of time and effort just to figure out what the exact requirements are and how these can be met. In the contemporary structural reality of the public schools in Denmark, pupils who have Western linguistic and cultural family backgrounds are to a large extent projected and treated as commonly equipped with significant cultural capital by possessing a habitus that is from the beginning in sync with many of the different activities and subjects in the curriculum. In contrast, pupils who come from non-Western backgrounds are faced with an immediate and time consuming task of adapting their habitus to these structural surroundings in order to be able to enjoy the fruits of

the academic practices and thus to gain access to symbolic capital of their own. As I have shown, one way of doing so is to stylize institutionally stigmatized ways of speaking and thereby through *vari-directional double voicing* (Bakhtin 1984: 194) dis-associate oneself from the indexicalities of social and educational failure that these ways of speaking help invoke.

We can furthermore use this image of unequal opportunities to point out how the category of *bilinguals* to a high degree invokes dimensions of social class by being used as a designator for people who are assumed to be ill-equipped for being part of the Danish school system (because of their socio-cultural background). As I described in the dissertation's introduction, social class dimensions are related to the existence and experience of unequal relationships in regard to employment and educational hierarchies, wealth, place of residence, opportunities and socio-cultural status (Bourdieu 1984, Abercrombie & Warde et al. 2000, Bradley 1996, Rampton 2010) and as this study has shown, such dimensions are invoked in the dichotomy of bilinguals vs. non-bilinguals. Of course, this outline is a simplification as we know there are inevitably nuances to the image and (as I am sure) also local exceptions of schools that manage to accommodate *all* (types of) pupils. However, as a general picture of how the structural reality looks right now, there is no escaping the fact that the contemporary public schools in Denmark are built around a structural system that is characterized by an uneven and unequal distribution of recourses in which some pupils are benefitted while others are dis-advantaged. As this dissertation has shown, one of the ways in which this is upheld is through discursive narratives anchored in ideologies that favor a particular domestic distribution of cultural capital and link certain ethnicities to the occupation of a subordinate role within the Danish educational system and the Danish society in general.

Theoretical reflections

Theoretically, my dissertation contributes to the line of work that projects ethnicity (or race), class, and gender as so closely intertwined that these forms of stratification need to be studied and conceptualized as interrelated (Crenshaw 1989, McCall 2005, Crompton 2008, Block 2014) by showing how various societal relations predominantly linked to ethno-cultural relations involve more salient aspects of social differentiation and segregation as well. As mentioned above, I have also shown how linguistic forms and ways of speaking that from a traditional and predominant standpoint are considered "ethnic",

invoke associations related to social class. As Crenshaw (1989) was one of the first to note, in some cases processes of stratification rely more on the intersectionality of several categories than on the categories alone, and therefore “[...] any analyst that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated” (Crenshaw 1989: 40). The case of Black women being discriminated in the United States is of course only one example but as noted by Block & Corona (2014), the call for intersectional approaches to for instance studies of marginalization has had a great impact on the social sciences in general with more and more researchers taken on board its basic tenets like “[...] the framing of identity as multi-layered and complex; the notion that different dimensions cannot be dealt with in isolation; and finally, the belief that the most interesting issues, and those worthy of research, often arise as intracategorical phenomena” (Block & Corona 2014: 31). The theoretical impact of this study can thereby be seen as part of this general movement. However, as my focus on the intersection of ethnicity and social class relations is a statement to; it can be just as fruitful to delve into the same processes as they exist inside categories as it is to try and account for aspects of both ethnicity (or race), class and gender at the same time. In this perspective, I thereby align with McCall (2005) who argues for approaching intersectionality through a partial perspective. It follows from this that my exclusion of identity aspects related to gender in my analyses should not be seen as a negligence of neither the general relevance of gender as a category of stratification and marginalization nor the relevance of gender in the situations that I analyze. It merely means that I chose to focus on ethnicity and social class relations as a consequence of the overall framing of my study as concerning social difference in two ethno-culturally diverse and socio-economically very different school environments.

Perspectives

Recent reports on bilinguals in the Danish schools (e.g. Rambøll & Andersen 2010, Andersen et. al. 2012) have argued that today's large amount of bilingual pupils poses problems for the learning environment and one of them even suggests a direct causal relation between the percentage of bilinguals and the quality of the learning environment. In contrast to these reports that focus primarily on meta-awareness among pupils, teachers, parents and school leaders basing their conclusions on their informants' *thoughts and narratives* concerning the effects of contemporary diversity in the Danish schools, my methodological anchoring in linguistic ethnography (e.g. Rampton et. al. 2004, Blackledge

& Creese 2010, Copland & Creese 2015) has allowed me to gain a more nuanced account of the experience. Using an ethnographic lens and drawing on different types of data, has made me able to accumulate a detailed account of pupils' behavior and beliefs *within* the contexts they occur, and this is important because, as we know, people's perceptions of their common actions do not always correspond with their actual behavior (e.g. Walford 2007). In this regard, the advantages of studying these topics by focusing on the discursive practice of interaction should also be emphasized because it is only through such an analytical lens that we are truly able to trace and grasp the actual experience of being a pupil in a contemporary school. The meta-awareness concerning the pupils' experiences of being part of a diverse school environment provides for an important perspective but it is *in the everyday communicative encounters* i.e. the interactional alignments/dis-alignments, evaluations, meta-linguistic censures and self-differentiations that discursively produced ideas such as languages, multilingualism and social classes are defined and negotiated. By studying these, we learn for instance that the dichotomy of bilinguals and non-bilinguals is both coarse and inexpedient when it comes to accounting for the linguistic, social and ethno-cultural differences in today's pupil groups which is far too nuanced and multifaceted to be captured by any dichotomy. In this way, my study could be seen as providing a frame for nuancing the perspectives of larger surveys as the ones mentioned above by pointing out the inadequacy of existing approaches and thereby encouraging the use of more finely-tuned measurements than simplistic dichotomies in the quest for learning more about the splits and alignments emerging in contemporary school environments. Finally, my choice of including in my ethnography a private elite school attended by pupils of socio-economic privilege has helped me gain new perspectives on the topics that I have addressed by introducing a more salient empirical perspective of social class relations than what is traditionally seen in this kind of research. It is my hope that such an inclusion will serve as inspiration for future studies as well.

In sum, it is my hope that this study is seen as contributing to the common research effort on linguistic youth styles within linguistic anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics that is interested in investigating how the social values associated with particular ways of speaking often involve intersections of several categories (e.g. Bucholtz 2011; Chun 2011; Jaspers 2011; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Rampton 2011; Madsen 2013, 2015). It should also be seen as supporting the growing conviction that social class relations remain important in today's globalized society (Harvey 2005; Halldén et al.

2008). Finally, it should work as a testament to how the predominant focus on ethno-cultural difference in current debates about academic underachievement, integration and youth in many European contexts (Eide and Simonsen 2007; Pedersen 2007) covers underlying systematic inequalities and power relations that need to be addressed if we want to advance our understanding of contemporary demographic diversity.

Summary

Title: Language and social status differences in two urban schools

This dissertation is about difference, social status relations and contemporary pupil diversity. It addresses how Copenhagen school children from two different schools use language to deal with their social everyday life and how such organizing involves constructions and ascriptions of identities and social stereotypes. My research is driven by an interest in learning more about the experience of being part of today's diverse school environments. Therefore, I approach my data with emphasis on a participant perspective and focus analytically on the ways in which the participants enact and talk social difference into being through situated interaction. Based in an understanding of such acts and experiences as both *shaped by* society while at the same time *shaping* society, I relate my analyses to ongoing processes of social stratification in today's Danish society. A recurrent theme in my study is the disclosure of the links between the predominant focus on ethnicity in public debates on Danish schooling and social class as well as the interplay between such relations of power and the micro-level practices that I analyze.

My field work has been carried out at two schools in Copenhagen; a public school at Amager and an elite French/Danish private school at Frederiksberg. I carried out the field work at each school during different periods and also under slightly different circumstances seeing how my ethnographic work at the public school was conducted as part of a larger collaborative research endeavor that was initiated in 2009 (and which is still ongoing). My field work at the private school was carried out from the beginning of 2015 and it was completed in the summer of 2016. At both schools, I followed groups of pupils at the same age (around 10-12 years old) during their school days. I interviewed them about their everyday (school) life, organized group conversations without my presence, interviewed their teachers and I also asked the pupils to record themselves mainly in the school context, but also at some occasions in their homes and during leisure activities.

The dissertation consists of four articles framed by an introduction and a final section in which I outline the perspectives of my study. In the dissertation, I illuminate the processes through which certain linguistic and semiotic resources as well as distinct ways of speaking are added particular symbolic value and illustrate how this grants some pupils with special social rights – and also at times limitations. On the basis of my analyses, I conclude that the participants show a remarkable tact for the stratified nature of the sociolinguistic economy of contemporary Denmark. They use this awareness and operationalize it through their linguistic repertoires to position themselves and each other in relation to the unequal power relations of this economy through for instance stylizations. I also conclude that the prevalent discourse that depicts diversity and multilingualism as problematic aspects of the learning environment in the Danish schools is housing a layer of social class relations that links up with (neoliberal) ideological notions of which resources that are valuable for our society to invest in. The overall methodological contribution of my dissertation is that the study of social and linguistic practices under current conditions of diversity must be sensitive to the intersectionality of ethnicity and social class and recognize that the focus on ethno-cultural difference in current debates about academic underachievement, integration and youth in many European contexts appears to cover underlying systematic inequalities and power relations that needs to be addressed if we want to advance our understanding of contemporary demographic diversity. Key words: School children, youth, linguistic and social difference, social class, linguistic diversity, discursive positioning, multicultural urban settings.

Resumé

Titel: Sprog og sociale status-forskelle i to urbane skoler

Denne afhandling omhandler forskellighed, sociale status-forskelle og nutidig elev-mangfoldighed. Den adresserer hvordan københavnske skolebørn i to forskellige skoler bruger sprog til at håndtere deres sociale hverdag samt hvordan denne organisering involverer konstruktioner og tilskrivninger af identiteter og sociale stereotyper. Min forskning er drevet af en interesse i at lære mere om oplevelsen af at være en del af de nutidige mangfoldige skolemiljøer. Jeg går derfor til mine data med vægt på deltagerperspektivet og fokuserer analytisk på måderne hvorpå deltagerne udlever og konstruerer social forskellighed gennem situeret interaktion. På basis af en forståelse af sådanne praksisser og oplevelser som både *formet af* samfundet og samtidig *formende* for samfundet relaterer jeg mine analyser til igangværende sociale stratifikationsprocesser i nutidens danske samfund. Et gennemgående tema i min afhandling er afsløringen af sammenhængen mellem det markante fokus på etnicitet i offentlige debatter om skolegang og socialklasse-relationer samt samspillet mellem disse magtrelationer og de praksisser som jeg analyserer.

Mit feltarbejde er blevet udført på to skoler i København – en folkeskole på Amager og en privat fransk/dansk elite-skole på Frederiksberg. Jeg udførte feltarbejdet i to forskellige perioder og også under forskellige omstændigheder eftersom mit feltarbejde på folkeskolen blev udført som en del af et større fælles forskningsprojekt der startede i 2009 (og som stadig er i gang). Mit feltarbejde på den private skole blev udført fra begyndelsen af 2015 og frem til sommeren 2016. På begge skoler fulgte jeg elevgrupper på samme alder (omkring 10-12 år gamle) på deres skoledage. Jeg interviewede dem om deres sociale og sproglige hverdag, organiserede gruppesamtaler uden min tilstedeværelse, interviewede deres lærere, og jeg bad også eleverne om at foretage selv-optagelser primært i skolen men også et par stykker fra deres hjem og fra diverse fritidsaktiviteter.

Min afhandling består af 4 artikler indrammet af en introduktion og et afsluttende afsnit hvori jeg redegør for perspektiverne i min undersøgelse. I afhandlingen belyser jeg hvordan sproglige og semiotiske tegn samt måder at tale på gennem sociale processer får tillagt særlig symbolsk betydning og illustrerer hvordan dette forsyner nogle elever med specielle sociale rettigheder – og til tider også begrænsninger. På baggrund af mine analyser konkluderer jeg at mine informanter udviser en bemærkelsesværdig fornemmelse for det stratificerede aspekt af den sociolingvistiske økonomi i dagens Danmark. De bruger denne bevidsthed og operationaliserer den gennem deres sproglige repertoarer til at positionere sig selv og hinanden i relation til økonomiens ulige magtrelationer gennem for eksempel stiliseringer. Jeg konkluderer endvidere at den udbredte diskurs om etnokulturel mangfoldighed i de danske skoler indeholder et element af socialklasse som hænger sammen med (neoliberalistiske) ideologiske forestillinger om hvilke resurser det er værdifuldt for vores samfund at investere i. Min afhandlings overordnede metodiske bidrag består i nødvendigheden af at være bevidst omkring det intersektionelle forhold mellem etnicitet og socialklasse når man undersøger sociale og sproglige praksisser i nutidens mangfoldige samfund og dermed også anerkende at det altoverskyggende fokus på etnokulturel forskellighed i nutidige debatter om skoleudfordringer, integration og ungdom i mange europæiske kontekster skjuler underliggende systematiske uligheder og ulige magtrelationer som bliver nødt til at blive adresseret hvis vi ønsker at forbedre vores viden om nutidig mangfoldighed. Nøgleord: Skolebørn, ungdom, sproglig og social forskellighed, socialklasse, sproglig mangfoldighed, diskursiv positionering, multikulturelle urbane miljøer.

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www.dst.dk

www.kk.dk

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Appendix

Transcription symbols used:

<Overlap>	Overlapping speech
LOUD	Louder volume than surrounding utterances
(!)	Emphasis on preceding word/utterance
xxx	Unintelligible speech
((Descriptions))	Transcriber's descriptions (of mostly non-linguistic events)
:	Prolongation of preceding sound
↑↓	Pitch raise and fall
(.)	Short pause
(1.0)	Timed pause in whole seconds
♪	Singing pronunciation
Haha	Laughter
[Pron:]	Explanation of particular pronunciations
FRA-ENG	Translation (in this case from French to English)

